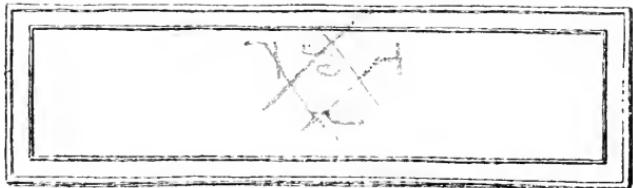
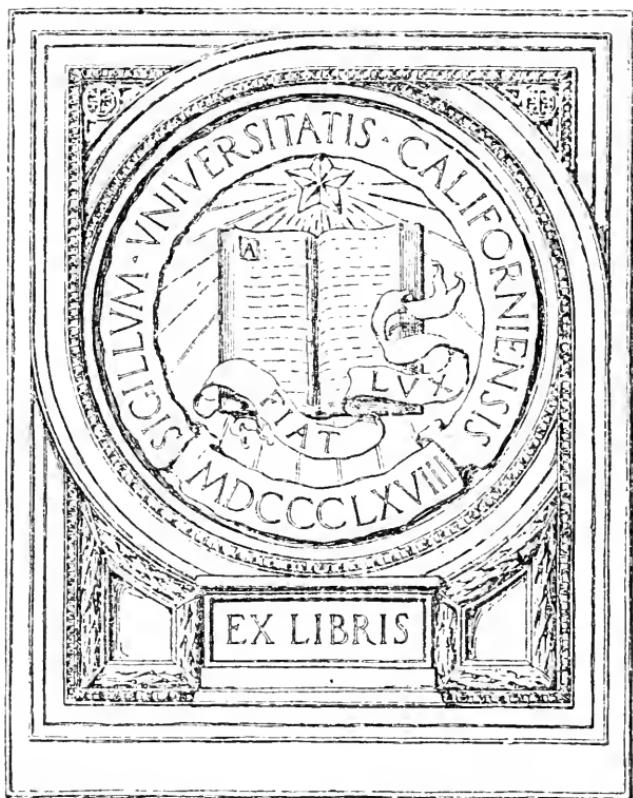


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THE RHESUS
OF
EURIPIDES

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THE RHESUS
OF
EURIPIDES

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

THE text of this edition owes most to Prof. Gilbert Murray's edition of the play in Vol. III of his *Euripides*; the commentary to the works of Paley and Vater. As this edition is not based on independent examination of the mss. I have dispensed with critical notes, merely indicating at the foot of the page the reading or readings of the most important mss. in passages where I have had recourse to the conjectures of scholars. Such passages, however, have been discussed at length in the commentary.

The appendix on vv. 874-8 I owe to the kindness of Prof. G. Norwood of University College, Cardiff.

In the arrangement of the choric passages I have followed the system of O. Schröder in his *Cantica Euripidis*, published in the Teubner series, to which the reader is referred for an elaborate analysis of the rhythms.

My best thanks are due to my former college tutor, Prof. Beare of Dublin, who not only has permitted me to use in the introduction portions of an article which I contributed in 1913 to *Hermathena*, of which journal he is editor, but has contributed many criticisms and suggestions on matters treated in the commentary; also to my former colleagues in University College, Bangor, Dr E. V. Arnold and Dr Hudson-Williams; and to my friend, Rev. C. B. Armstrong, Head Master of Cork Grammar School.

W. H. PORTER.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.
July, 1916.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Rhesus* has perhaps excited a greater difference of opinion among those who have discussed its literary value and significance than any other extant Greek play. This has happened mainly because critics have not approached it with an open mind. Their real interest has lain in the question whether the *Rhesus* is to be regarded as a genuine work of Euripides. This question, first raised by certain ancient critics, has been debated, not infrequently with some asperity, by every generation of scholars from the days of Scaliger. It is significant that those who deny the authenticity of the play generally proceed to denounce it as a feeble and mediocre production¹, while almost every upholder of its Euripidean title has adjudged it a meritorious work not unworthy of its author.

Of late the protagonists on either side have approached the problem with more diffidence, and are consequently less eager to call in aesthetic arguments to support their critical position. No opponent of the traditional view, except perhaps Wilamowitz, would now assert that the faults of the play in themselves make it impossible to believe that Euripides wrote it; no supporter, not even Professor Murray, would claim that its merits are such that no lesser poet could have done so.

Hence it has become less difficult for the student, in dealing with the interpretation and literary significance of the play, to keep his judgment unbiassed by the problem of

¹ E.g. Valckenaer, Morstadt, Hermann, Hagenbach, Menzer, Wilamowitz; with whom contrast Vater, Paley, Hartung.

authorship, and to reserve the latter for independent examination.

I. THE PLOT AND ITS SOURCES

Although the story of the *Rhesus* is derived in the main from the *Doloneia*, the tenth book of our *Iliad*, Christ is hardly accurate in describing the drama as *Iliadis carmen deductum in actus*; for the last scene, which is certainly not the least impressive and significant portion of the play, is drawn from totally different sources. In the earlier scenes most of the divergences from the epic story are due to a desire for unity of time and place, which, on the Greek stage, was almost a necessity on account of the constant presence of the chorus throughout the action. Such divergences have no special significance.

It will be convenient, however, for the sake of clearness, to give a short sketch of the plot, in spite of the familiarity of the subject-matter.

Achilles having withdrawn his forces, the Greeks are no longer able to resist the onslaught of Hector. A day of disaster has forced them to take refuge behind the rampart of their naval camp. The victorious Trojans are spending the night around their fires on the open plain. The play begins with the arrival of a body of excited sentries (forming the chorus) who rush into the orchestra and loudly call on Hector. It is past midnight, but they have noticed a blaze of light in the camp of the foe. Hector, rising in haste, verifies their report, and concludes that the Greeks are meditating immediate flight. To check their design he is about to order a night attack on the Greek rampart, when Aeneas opportunely appears and persuades him before taking action to send out a spy to investigate the mystery. Hector accordingly appeals for a volunteer, and Dolon, one of his *ὑπασπισται*¹, offers himself for the enterprise on condition of receiving as his share of the spoils of victory the horses of Achilles. The bargain completed, he retires to disguise himself for his mission.

¹ V. 2.

At this point we meet a deviation from Homer of an exceptional kind. Homer's Dolon is not disguised (*Illiad* x. 334 f.), though clad in a grey wolf's hide, and wearing a ferret-skin cap upon his head. But in the play Dolon will go forth, actually disguised as a wolf. To quote Professor Murray's version (vv. 208-215) :—

A grey wolf's hide

Shall wrap my body close on either side;
 My head shall be the mask of gleaming teeth,
 My arms fit in the fore-paws like a sheath,
 My thighs in the hinder parts. No Greek shall tell
 'T is not a wolf that walks, half-visible,
 On four feet by the trenches and around
 The ship-screen. When it comes to empty ground
 It stands on two.—That is the plan, my friend !

These tactics, be they effective or ridiculous, are not, as critics used to think, an invention of the poet, but are derived from a legend of unknown antiquity. The disguised Dolon does not, indeed, figure again in our extant literature (though he may have played a part in the *Dolon* of the comic poet Eubulus), but is depicted on a cylix fragment, bearing the signature of Euphronius. This cylix, now at Munich, is adorned with a representation of the death of Dolon. It is thus described by Mr J. A. K. Thomson¹: "The spy is clad in a tight-fitting skin which even retains the tail. By the side of Diomedes stands Athene, while on the left Hermes abandons Dolon to his fate. The artist has made his meaning quite clear. The skin is a disguise....In one detail only does Euphronius differ from the *Rhesus*. The Dolon of the vase wears a helmet; Dolon in the play draws over his head the *χάσμα θηρός* in the fashion familiar to us from the representations of Heracles." As Euphronius flourished at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century, the legend of the disguised Dolon must at any rate be older than the Persian War.

¹ *Class. Rev.* Decr., 1911.

Dolon has retired as the chorus begin their prayer to Apollo for his safety and success. After this he speaks no more. But Professor Murray suggests that he reappears, disguised, at the conclusion of the hymn, and silently goes out into the darkness. The elaborate description of his disguise renders the suggestion highly probable. A herdsman now enters and with difficulty obtains an audience from Hector. In a vivid narrative he describes the march of Rhesus, the half-divine lord of Thrace, to the assistance of the Trojans. Hector is scarcely persuaded to accept such belated aid, so confident is he now of victory; but the chorus, in a transport of enthusiasm, greet the Thracian as Zeus the Deliverer, Zeus the Light-Bringer (*φαῖτος*), Ares the Irresistible.

As they finish their hymn of triumph Rhesus arrives in person. He excuses himself for his delay, and boasts loudly of the exploits he intends to perform upon the morrow. After a long colloquy Hector escorts the Thracians to a camping-ground outside the confederate lines. The chorus also leave the orchestra, to summon their successors. Stage and orchestra are for the moment empty—an arrangement which occurs only five times in the rest of our extant dramatic literature¹.

But now the stealthy forms of Odysseus and Diomedes emerge from the darkness. The heroes, we gather from their conversation, have met Dolon on his way to the ships and slain him, but not until he revealed the watchword and told them where to find the tent of Hector, whom it is their present purpose to slaughter in his sleep. But Hector has gone with the Thracians to their camping-ground, and the tent is empty. They must return home disappointed. They have brought with them Dolon's wolf-skin² (in the *Doloneia* they leave it on a tamarisk tree to await their return), and Professor

¹ Aesch. *Eum.* 235, Soph. *Ant.* 815 (in both accompanied by change of scene), Eur. *Helen* 327, *Alc.* 746, Ar. *Eccl.* 310.

² V. 591 f.

Murray, with his keen eye for the dramatic, suggests that they hang it up in Hector's tent to greet him as he enters. They have just turned away when the voice of Athena is heard out of the darkness, warning them of the arrival of Rhesus, destined if he survive this night to save Troy and ruin the Greek cause. Odysseus at once sets off in quest of Rhesus, and Diomedes is about to follow when Paris arrives, seeking his brother to tell him that spies are reported in the camp. Athena, however, representing herself as his patron goddess, Cypris, calms his fears, and bids him return to his post.

In the *Iliad* the mission of Dolon is subsequent to the arrival of Rhesus. Dolon directs the Greeks to Rhesus' quarters. They enter the camp for the express purpose of killing the Thracian, and accomplish their design without further adventure, Athena merely intervening to hasten their departure when the deed is done¹. It is obvious how much more dramatic is the version adopted in the play. Here the slaughter of Rhesus is due directly to Athena's intervention. Our consciousness that the catastrophe is the work not of human treachery but of divine interposition supplies, as Patin² observed, a touch of tragic solemnity lacking in the Homeric story. We should note, too, how skilfully the poet has linked up the incidents of Dolon and Rhesus by a few words which the Greek spies let fall in conversation.

Meantime the guards have heard a vague rumour of spies in the camp. Abandoning their purpose of seeking their successors, they return and crowd tumultuously into the orchestra, at the very moment that Odysseus and Diomedes are coming back red-handed from the slaughter of the Thracian king. The guards rush from the orchestra to the stage (a proceeding comparatively rare in Attic drama)³ to seize upon the foe.

Then follows a scene of confusion rather difficult to appre-

¹ *Il.* x. 433, 509. ² *Euripide*, II. p. 162.

³ "Hardly fifteen certain examples are to be found," Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 155.

hend¹! Professor Murray imagines Odysseus and Diomedes appearing amid a crowd of Thracians running in disorder. But perhaps the Thracians do not discover the calamity till afterwards, as in the *Doloneia*. Diomedes and Odysseus are at once captured by the watch. Where the chariot and horses of Rhesus are at this critical moment we are not told. They remain *ἔξω τοῦ δράματος*. Odysseus adopts a tone of authority, posing as one of the Trojan host. For a moment he forgets himself. With his imagination still infected by the slaughter of the king, he asks the captain of the guard, *ἢ σὺ δὴ Πῆσον κατέκτας*; Fortunately for him that personage has no time to think what may be implied in such a question. He begins a vague *tu quoque* retort, *ἀλλὰ τὸν κτενοῦντα σὲ...* when Odysseus, recovering himself, hastily diverts attention by crying *ἴσχε πᾶς τις*. After a little more parley he condescends to give the watchword, and is at once taken into the confidence of the guard, whom he successfully directs on a fool's errand in search of 'the spies.' Then he slips away in the dark in company with Diomedes.

The guards soon re-assemble and find they have been fooled. While they are still lamenting their error, the charioteer of Rhesus (who fills the rôle played by Hippocoon in the *Doloneia*) approaches them, and in a speech full of vivid detail tells of his master's murder and his own wounding. Hector, when he returns, has already learnt the fate of his ally, but is shocked to find himself denounced as the assassin. In vain the sorely tried general protests his innocence, hinting at the wiles of Odysseus; his accuser persists in the charge, and when at last he is led away to have his wounds treated, his suspicions are still undispersed. The play concludes with the appearance of the Muse, the mother of Rhesus, as *dea ex machina*. Hovering over the stage with the body of her son in her arms she laments his doom, denounces Athena as the true author of the murder, declares

¹ Vv. 675-691.

her purpose of conveying the corpse home to Thrace, and foretells the destiny and honours awaiting the dead hero.

The poet has often been criticized for making the Muse announce the true facts of Rhesus' murder in the absence of the charioteer, who, in consequence, continues to suspect Hector. Professor Murray thinks, however, that "it is a clever touch to leave the Thracian still only half-convinced and grumbling." Had Hector's exculpation been effected by natural means, the arrangement might pass as a touch of realism ; but if a goddess is to be called in to vindicate a hero, we should expect the vindication to be final. The true explanation may be that the same actor was required to take the parts of the Muse and the charioteer¹.

For his final scene the poet got little aid from the *Doloneia*. The author of that episode had but an incidental interest in Rhesus, who comes to Troy only to meet his doom. Yet Rhesus was a great saga figure. In historical times his name was still familiar not only in the region of the Strymon but throughout Thrace, in the island of Chios, where he was associated with the local heroine, Arganthone², and in Bithynia and Troas.

The name 'Rhesus' is probably of Thracian origin ; according to a plausible suggestion of Tomaschek³, it is to be connected with the Latin *rēx* ; if this be so, it represents a solitary survival in the languages of Eastern Europe of the root *reg*, preserved in Indo-iranian tongues, and in several of those of Western Europe.

The parentage assigned to Rhesus in the play is no doubt derived from the myths of the Strymon valley. The *Doloneia* calls the hero simply 'son of Eioneus' without any hint that Eioneus is a river-god. Yet, the existence of a town called Eion at the mouth of the Strymon confirms the view of the

¹ On the allotment of parts see *infra*, p. 1.

² Parthenius, 36.

³ Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée*, p. 17.

mythologist, Conon, that Eioneus is in reality only an older name of that river.

The poet speaks of the mother of Rhesus simply as ‘the Muse,’ it being the custom of the tragedians, in order to fix the attention of the spectator on the great issues of the drama, to leave secondary characters, messengers, shepherds, &c., unnamed¹. Mythologists, however, insisted on attempting a more precise determination of her identity. With this object the scholiast² quotes from the *Macedonica* of the younger Marsyas (a writer known to us from citations in Pliny and Athenæus) a sentence which implies that the memory of Rhesus and his mother had long survived at Amphipolis. Marsyas states that ‘there is a temple of Clio at Amphipolis, situated over against the monument of Rhesus on a certain ridge.’

The sudden apparition of the Muse with the body of her son was probably suggested³ by the scene in the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus, where Eos appears in the air with the body of Memnon.

The most remarkable passage in the play is the prophecy of the Muse concerning the ultimate destiny of Rhesus (vv. 962-973) :—

οὐκ εἰσὶ γαίας ἐς μελάγχιμον πέδον·
τοσόνδε Νύμφη τὴν ἔνερθ' αἰτήσομαι,
τῆς καρποποιοῦ παῖδα Δήμητρος θεᾶς,
ψυχὴν ἀνεῖναι τοῦδε ὁφειλέτις δέ μοι
τοὺς Ὀρφέως τιμῶσα φαίνεσθαι φίλους.
κάμοι μὲν ὡς θανών τε κοὐ λεύσσων φάος
ἔσται τὸ λοιπόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐς ταῦτον ποτε
οὕτ’ εἶσιν οὕτε μητρὸς ὄψεται δέμας.
κρυπτὸς δὲ ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
ἀνθρωποδαιμῶν κείσεται βλέπων φάος,

¹ Wilamowitz, *Analect. Eurip.* p. 185. ² Schol. v. 347.

³ J. C. Rolfe, in *Harvard Studies* iv. p. 69. Pollux (4. 130) refers to the mechanical contrivances used for such scenes.

Βάκχον προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίον πέτραν
ῷκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδύσιν θεύς.

This passage may be thus translated: ‘He shall not descend into the dark earth; this much shall I beg of the Nether Bride, daughter of Demeter, the goddess who giveth the fruits of the earth, to send up his soul from the dead. And she is my debtor to show manifest honour to the kins-folk of Orpheus. And although to me he shall be as dead henceforth and as one who sees not the light, for neither shall he meet me any more nor look upon his mother’s face, yet he shall lie concealed in the caverns of the silver-bearing land, a Spirit-Man¹, beholding the light, even as the seer of Bacchus made his habitation in Pangaeum’s rock, a god revered by those who understand.’

The prophecy of the Muse, so allusive and obscure, suggests three questions for consideration: (1) How does the poet conceive the condition of Rhesus after death? (2) How are we to interpret the references to Orpheus and the Βάκχον προφήτης? (3) Whence did the poet derive the form of the legend which assigns to Rhesus a final resting-place in Thracian soil?

(1) The posthumous existence attributed to Rhesus, though conforming in the main to the doctrine of the dead found elsewhere in the tragedians, is quite alien to Homeric conceptions². The Homeric Greeks knew nothing of the invocation of heroes. They practised cremation, and held a doctrine corresponding to their practice. When the body is burned, the spirit enters the house of Hades, which lies far away in the West. It can return no more to the land of the living. It takes no more thought of the doings of men. True, it may be revived by tasting blood newly shed, but to consult the departed is possible only for those who, like Odysseus, have voyaged to the land of shadows.

¹ So Murray translates *ἀνθρωποδαιμόνιον*.

² On the general question see Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I. ch. 7.

There existed, however, in Greece an older practice associated with an altogether different conception of the state of the dead. Inhumation, as practised in primitive times, implied the notion that the tomb is the dwelling-place of the spirit. It implied also the possibility of continued communication between the dead and the survivors, for the spirit can be kept awake by prayers, libations, and blood-offerings. If the bones of the dead have been transferred from one place to another, the spirit follows them ; and where the tomb is, there for good or ill is felt the spirit's influence. This belief, which still prevailed in historic times—witness Herodotus' tales (I. 67, v. 67) concerning the relics of Orestes and Adrastus—leads straight to hero-worship.

In the sixth century B.C. the practice of cremation was coming into vogue in Athens, and with the change in custom there arose a conflation of these two doctrines. The spirit is no longer thought to have its abode in the tomb, but far away in the world of the dead; yet this world is now definitely conceived as an under-world. No longer does it signify whether the body has been burned or buried: from its distant home beneath the earth the spirit can return to its ashes and hearken to the voice of prayer. This eclectic theory Professor Ridgeway illustrates from the *Choephoroe* (324 ff., 490 f.). The body of Agamemnon has been burned, his spirit dwells beneath the earth; yet it can be summoned forth; the ritual, though long and wearisome, is effective.

Such is the doctrine presupposed in Attic Tragedy; but the position of Rhesus is in some respects unique. His soul is not to be 'sent up' for some special purpose, but is destined to enjoy perpetually a sort of life in death. As Professor Murray puts it: "Like other Northern barbaric princes, such as Orpheus and Zamolxis and Holgar the Dane, Rhesus lies in a hidden chamber beneath the earth, watching, apparently, for the day of uttermost need, when he must rise to help his people. There is no other passage in Greek Tragedy where

such a fate is attributed to a hero, though the position of Darius in the *Persae*, and Agamemnon in the *Choephoroe* or *Electra*, is in some ways analogous¹.

The word *ἀνθρωποδαίμων*, found nowhere else in this sense, seems to mark the unique position of the hero.

(2) As to Orpheus. Persephone is asked to ‘send up the soul’ of Rhesus ‘because he is a kinsman of Orpheus.’ Why should this be a title to favour? We know that Persephone had already shown grace to Orpheus; but what had Orpheus done for Persephone? Maass² finds the clue to the problem in v. 943: *μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὸς ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς*. There is little doubt that in the Orphic mysteries Persephone had her part, while in the mysteries of Eleusis, in which the goddess was specially concerned, Orphic features were prominent³. It would be then as hierophant and religious reformer that Orpheus conferred an obligation on the goddess.

We now come to the last four lines of the passage under consideration:

κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος,
Βάκχον προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίον πέτραν
φέκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός.

Here the Muse is comparing her son in his high estate of *ἀνθρωποδαίμων* with some ‘prophet of Bacchus who made his habitation on Pangaeum’s rock.’

Unfortunately the words are obscure, and there are at least three different interpretations of the passage. We cannot even be sure whether the words *σεμνὸς ... θεός* are to be referred to *ἀνθρωποδαίμων* or *προφήτης*. It is safer, however, with most modern editors, to refer them to *προφήτης*, both on account of the order, and because otherwise the description of the *προφήτης* would be left very curt.

¹ Murray, *Rhesus* (transl.), note on v. 962 ff.

² Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 67.

³ See Harrison, *Proleg. to Gk Religion*, pp. 474 and 539 ff.

There was a shrine of Bacchus on Pangaeum. We know from Herodotus that the Satrae, a tribe whose chief seat was on that mountain, possessed an oracle of Dionysus ‘on the highest peaks,’ wherein the Bessi acted as interpreters¹; and this may be the oracle mentioned by Dion Cassius² as having been taken from the Bessi, and transferred to the Odrysians by Crassus.

But who is the *προφήτης*? According to Vater and Dindorf it is Lycurgus, king of the Edonians. This hero appears in Homer³ as a persecutor of Dionysus. Sophocles⁴ tells how he was confined by the god ‘in a rocky prison.’ From Apollodorus⁵ we further learn that he was carried by the Edonians to Mount Pangaeum, and put in bonds, and there Dionysus had him torn asunder by horses. Yet there is some evidence that by a transformation not unknown in primitive religion he was sometimes identified with Dionysus himself. Strabo⁶ informs us: [οἱ Φρύγες] τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ἡδωνὸν Λυκοῦργον συνάγοντες εἰς ἐν τῇν ὁμοτροπίᾳν τῶν ἱερῶν αἰνίττονται. Farnell⁷, it is true, finds ‘no direct record of the worship of Lycurgus, or his prophetic character.’ But there is a grotto near the sunmit of Pangaeum where, according to Perdrizet⁸, superstitious rites are practised even at the present day; and this grotto may have been the seat of the barbarian oracle and the legendary scene of Lycurgus’ imprisonment. As we have seen, the hero’s grave becomes his shrine.

More recently Maass⁹ has argued with much ingenuity for the identification of the ‘prophet’ with Orpheus. The Muse has already mentioned Orpheus by name; and a second reference by allusion would not be unnatural. The association of Orpheus with Dionysus is a subject constantly

¹ Hdt. VII. 111, 112.

² LI. 25.

³ Il. VI. 130.

⁴ Ant. 955 f.

⁵ 3. 5. 4.

⁶ X. p. 471.

⁷ *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. v. p. 100, note.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 37 f.

⁹ *Orpheus*, p. 67 f.

referred to in literature from Herodotus onwards. There would be nothing improbable in Orpheus being called the ‘prophet of Bacchus.’ But have we any grounds for connecting him with the cult of the god on Mount Pangaeum?

Virgil, as Maass observes, following Alexandrian authority, makes Orpheus bewail ‘his half-regained Eurydice’ by the waters of Strymon; where also he meets his death at the hands of the indignant Maenads¹. Already Aeschylus in his *Bassarids* had told how on Pangaeum Thracian Maenads tore Orpheus to pieces and scattered his limbs on every side; but the Muses collected them again, and buried them in the place called Leibethra. The best-known place of this name was in Macedonia, under Mount Olympus, but for the Leibethra of Aeschylus’ tragedy Maass bids us carry our search no farther than Pangaeum itself, quoting Himerius (*Or. XIII. 4*): Λειβήθραι μὲν οὖν Παγγαίου πρόσοικοι Ὀρφέα τὸν Καλλιόπης τὸν Θράκιον ἐθαύμαζον, κ.τ.λ.

Omitting Maass’s subsidiary arguments, we may summarize thus his main contention. The prophet is a ‘holy god to those who understand’; Orpheus’ *mysteries* were closely associated with Dionysus. The prophet ‘made his habitation on Pangaeum’s rock’; on Pangaeum Dionysus had an oracle; on Pangaeum (according to Aeschylus) Orpheus perished; at Leibethra, on the borders of Pangaeum, the Muses buried him. Here we should be prepared to find a seat of his worship. According to Maass, then, the four lines of the play above quoted may be thus paraphrased: ‘Orpheus’ shrine and oracle are on Mount Pangaeum: Rhesus, too, shall have a shrine in a cavern in the plain below.’ The cavern-shrine reminds us of the legends of the Thracian Zainolxis and the Boeotian Amphiaraus and Trophonius.

Perdrizet² has criticized in detail these arguments of Maass. We know nothing elsewhere, he maintains, of Lycurgus or Orpheus as prophets of Bacchus on Pangaeum.

¹ *Georg. IV. 508 ff., 520 ff.*

² *Op. cit. pp. 27, 31.*

Nor does he accept Maass's explanation of Leibethra. The Pangaean Leibethra is a mere fiction of Himerius, a late writer (c. 350 A.D.). The 'unanimous tradition of antiquity' placed the grave of Orpheus in the famous Leibethra, under Mount Olympus, whither the Muses bore the dead prophet from Pangaeum, just as in our play the Muse bears the body of Rhesus from Troy.

It must, however, be remembered that Pangaeum was inhabited by a branch of the Pierians who had migrated thither in early times from the district of Pieria, near Mount Olympus. It would not, therefore, be surprising if they gave the name of Leibethra to a locality in their new home; nor would it be strange if the new Leibethra had in time come to be associated with the name of Orpheus.

Perdrizet further objects that nothing in the *Bassarids*, so far as we know, proves that Orpheus was associated on Pangaeum with the cult of the Thracian Bacchus, or that the syncretism which ultimately amalgamated the Dionysiac and Orphic religions was an accomplished fact in the time of Aeschylus.

On this latter point Miss Harrison¹, who believes that "by the time of Herodotus the followers of Orpheus and Bacchus are regarded as substantially identical," cites the passage, where the historian, speaking of certain Egyptian customs, observes that the Egyptians ὁμολογέουσι ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλευμένοισι καὶ Βάκχικοῖσι².

Perdrizet's own interpretation of our passage is, I think, open to more serious objection. He starts with the assumption that the προφήτης Βάκχου is none other than Rhesus himself. Hence the text must be corrupt. We must recall the vexed lines once more to the reader's notice—

κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος,
Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν
ῳκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός.

¹ *Proleg.* p. 454.

² Hdt. II. 81.

A late correction in the Palatine MS. reads ὅς τε for ὥστε in the third line. With this alteration the passage runs:—*Rhesus shall lie concealed...the prophet of Bacchus who (Bacchus) made his habitation in Pangaeum's rock.* Remembering, however, that ὅς τε is not strictly an Attic use, Perdrizet offers as alternatives the conjectures ὅς γε (Matthiae) or ὡς ὁς (Madvig), which latter has not even the merit of being metrical!

But to disturb a perfectly intelligible text in the interests of a theory, however ingenious, is an altogether uncritical proceeding; and we might add, in Perdrizet's own phrase, "we have no evidence elsewhere of *Rhesus* as prophet of Bacchus." Lycurgus and Orpheus cannot be so easily exorcised.

(3) However we identify the προφήτης, the notion that the dead Rhesus was transported to his native Thrace is as alien to Homer as the 'eschatology' of the Muse's prophecy; and the Homeric tradition on this point represents current Athenian opinion in the fifth century. Polyaenus¹ tells us that Hagnon, when founding the colony of Amphipolis (437–6 B.C.), sent an expedition to Troy, at the bidding of an oracle, and brought back the bones of Rhesus, which he buried near the Strymon. The account of Polyaenus may be embellished with fanciful details; but when we remember that some forty years previously the Athenians had transferred from Scyros to Athens bones which they believed to be those of Theseus, there seems to be no reason why we should not with Rohde² accept the story of Hagnon's expedition.

Thus we see the Athenians actually believed that the ashes of Rhesus had been laid beneath a heap of gathered ground on the plain of Troy. The poet has obviously followed in this matter a different tradition. Two questions at once suggest themselves: On what authority does the

¹ *Strat.* 6, 53.

² *Psyche*⁴, 1. note 2.

poet represent Rhesus as buried in Thrace? What led him to abandon the form of the legend generally accepted in Greece?

We can adduce some grounds for believing that, according to the legends current among the Thracians, the bones of Rhesus rested in some local shrine.

The eagerness of Hagnon and his Athenians to deposit the supposed relics of the hero within the precincts of their colony can hardly be explained, except on the assumption that the hero was already an object of veneration to the natives of the district. Rohde, indeed, regards Rhesus as the ancestor-god of the Edonians, as Zamolxis of the Getae, and Sabazios of other Thracian stocks. To the Athenians, no doubt, Rhesus was simply a Thracian hero, slain and buried in the Troad, whose supernatural protection for the new colony might be secured by bringing back his relics. But we need not suppose that the Edonians connected the Rhesus whom they worshipped as ancestor-god or national hero with an obscure incident in the tale of Troy.

Bethe¹ has given good reason to suppose that, according to the primitive form of the legend, it was not in Troy that Rhesus perished, but in Thrace itself, warring against the son of Ares, the savage Diomedes, who fed his steeds on human flesh, and was himself at last slain by Heracles; and that the story had reference to the struggles between the native Thracians and the early Greek colonists. Subsequently, when Diomedes was transformed into the chivalrous son of Tydeus, and absorbed into the Trojan story, Rhesus in turn was made an ally of the Trojans, and the scene of his calamity transferred from Thrace to Troy. Among the Thracians it is likely that the Rhesus legend survived in local and primitive forms, superseded for the Greeks by the Homeric version.

Philostratus² tells of a shrine of Rhesus on Mount

¹ *Vide* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* s.v. Diomedes.

² *Heroic.* p. 691. Philostratus belongs to the earlier half of the 3rd century, A.D.

Rhodope : ‘Rhesus, whom Diomedes slew in Troy, is said to inhabit Rhodope, and they recount many wondrous deeds of his ; for they say that he breeds horses, and marches in armour, and hunts wild beasts ; and, in proof that the hero is a hunter, they tell how the wild boars and gazelles and all the beasts on the mountain come by twos and threes to the altar of Rhesus, and are offered in sacrifice, unbound and unfettered, and yield themselves to the knife ; and this hero is said to ward off plague from his borders. Now, Rhodope is very populous, and there are many villages around the shrine’ (*τὸς ἱερού*).

Philostratus, of course, accepts the Homeric version : but the legend he heard at the shrine knows nothing of a catastrophe at Troy. It merely depicts, as Jessen observes, ‘a genuine old Thracian, whose chief concerns are war, the chase, and the breeding of horses!.’

The survival of this legend on Mount Rhodope in the time of Philostratus favours our contention that centuries earlier, in the Strymon valley, a similar legend was prevalent, associated with some cavern in the district. No doubt as the region became Hellenized, the Greek tradition that the bones of the hero rested in the citadel of Amphipolis overshadowed and killed the local belief.

We can hardly doubt then that (in the words of Farnell) “the poet’s prophecy rests on local knowledge.” In this tragedy he has preferred local legend to Greek tradition ; he has given his hero sepulture not in a Trojan barrow, but in the ‘caverns of the silvery land.’

But why? The poet was confronted with a peculiar problem. A writer who set out to dramatize the legend of Rhesus could hardly change at will the details of a story fixed for ever in the pages of the *Iliad*. But while the *Doloneia* leaves the dead Rhesus in Troy, Thracian tradition (with which the poet evidently had a thorough acquaintance) insisted that somewhere in Thrace –as to exactly where, the

¹ Roscher’s *Lex. art. Rhesus*.

faithful probably differed among themselves—lay the bones of the national hero. The poet was willing to become a debtor both to the Greeks and the barbarians. Thracian tradition ignored rather than denied the death of Rhesus in Troy: the *Doloneia* implies, but does not actually assert, his burial there. The poet saw that he could without violence weld these independent traditions into a consistent whole, by the use of a stage device, suggested perhaps by the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus.

The introduction of the Muse provides a satisfactory solution of the problem. Nor is it without aesthetic justification. It enables the poet to add a touch of novelty to a familiar tale. It provides opportunity for a striking scenic effect. It imparts to a plot otherwise almost destitute of tragic emotion an element which appeals to ‘the general heart of men’—the love and sorrow of a mother for her son.

But if it appears strange that the poet did not provide, as he readily might have done, a prophetic anticipation of the events of 437 B.C., when the body of Rhesus was conveyed home in state by the fleet of the Athenian thalassocrats, the explanation may be that the play was written before that event occurred.

Addendum

Dr Walter Leaf, in an article entitled *Rhesus of Thrace*¹, assails certain of the positions adopted above and seeks (1) to show that Rhesus has no legendary connection with Thrace and never possessed a native cult in the Strymon valley, (2) to explain on this hypothesis the origin of our play.

He believes the Rhesus of the *Doloneia* to be “a purely literary creation of the moment, devoid of local or legendary background,” “a poetic fiction created only for the purpose of supplying an effective object for the night attack of Diomedes and Odysseus.”

¹ *J.H.S.* xxxv. 1.

In maintaining the thesis that the author of the *Doloneia* invented' Rhesus Dr Leaf points to the vagueness of his place of origin. He has no local habitation. He is called a Thracian ; but "the Thracians in Homer, are, it would seem, confined to the Eastern part" of the region between the Pontic Sea and the mouth of the Axios : they dwell "just north of the Hellespont"; the Western part being to Homer the country of the Cicones and Paeonians. "So far as Rhesus can be given a home, it must be somewhere in the Hebrus valley."

This distinction, however, does not appear to be absolute. When Hera set out on her journey for the beguiling of Zeus¹

ἀίξαστα λίπεν ρίον Οὐλύμπου
Πιερίην ἐπιβάσα καὶ Ἡμαθίην ἐρατεινὴν
σεύατ' ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων Θρηγῶν ὅρεα νιφόεντα,
ἀκροτάτας κορυφάς, οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῖν,
ἐξ Ἀθώω δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἐβήσετο κυμαίνοντα.

Here the reference must be to the Chalcidice, and as the Chalcidice lies west of the Strymon it follows that the term Thracian might be applied in Homer to a dweller on the banks of that river.

As we have already seen, the author of the play departs from the *Doloneia* in describing the parentage of his hero. In the *Iliad* he is the son of Eioneus; in the play, of the Strymon. Conon's attempt to reconcile the accounts by regarding Eioneus as an older name of the river, though supported by the name Eion given to the town at its mouth, does not commend itself to Dr Leaf. Eioneus, he argues, only means 'shore-man' and is the name of four or five other personages in Greek mythology. This, however, need not surprise us. Eion is the name of two other places in Thrace and Macedonia; but if, nevertheless, The Shore was a sufficient designation for the spot at the mouth of the Strymon where the Greeks called for trade with the natives, they might naturally designate the river that flowed out

¹ *Il.* XIV. 224 ff.

there, the ‘Shore-stream¹.’ Indefinite as the Homeric account of Rhesus may be, there is nothing in it inconsistent with the view that it represents a Thracian saga absorbed into the tale of Troy.

Dr Leaf prefers to think that Rhesus was a purely ‘fictitious’ character. He does not tell us whether he is unique in this respect among Homeric heroes, or if not, with what other epic personages he is to be compared.

Apart from the *Doloneia* Dr Leaf is dissatisfied with the quantity and quality of the legends concerning Rhesus that have found their way into Greek literature.

There is nothing characteristic in Parthenius’ love-tale, and the account of the hero in Philostratus, though strange, does not connect with any other legend.

But (to take an example) has Diomedes, king of the Bistones, much in common with the son of Tydeus, or the Diomedes who was worshipped as a god in Italy?

Dr Leaf makes little of Philostratus because he is a late writer. He does not, however, venture to assert that Philostratus’ account of the Rhesus-cult is another ‘invention.’ It has nothing to do with the *Doloneia* or the Euripidean drama. Where did it come from? Why should we not regard it as testifying to the persistence in a remote region of a native legend and the cult of a native hero? Dr Leaf neither accepts Philostratus nor does he explain him away. Yet he must be explained away before we can be satisfied that the Rhesus of the *Doloneia* is an ‘invention.’

Neither will Dr Leaf allow that Rhesus is a Thracian name. The suggested connection with *rēr* he calls ‘a curious recrudescence of pre-scientific etymology’; he does not however suggest an etymology of his own. If Rhesus was ‘invented’ by the author of the *Doloneia*, one might reasonably

¹ Or we might understand Eioneus as ‘the man from Eion’ and suppose the divine paternity a later development. The local association is what chiefly concerns us.

suppose that his name would be a Greek word with a meaning as clear as that of his father Eioneus.

Dr Leaf attaches great importance to Cicero's statement that Orpheus and Rhesus, though of divine parentage, are nowhere worshipped ('nusquam coluntur'). "We are safe in concluding from Cicero's words that the Alexandrines not only knew of no worship of Rhesus, but that they did not consider the tragedy as evidence of such worship."

It is very probable that the Amphipolitans, after the capture of the city by Brasidas, began to neglect the Rhesus-cult. If there had been a native cult on the banks of the Strymon, it might have disappeared when the region became Hellenised. In any case the Athenians lost interest in Rhesus, and the Alexandrine critics would not concern themselves with what went on in the villages round Rhodope.

Having thus satisfied himself that there is not "the least reason for supposing that the Edonians had ever heard of Rhesus" Dr Leaf gives his theory of the origin of the play. "The tragedy of *Rhesus* was a *pièce d'occasion* and the occasion was the founding of Amphipolis. It is a political piece intended to encourage the expedition. The *Rhesus* was written in the year 437 or very near it." The manner of its composition was this: "The author of the *Rhesus* has no source for his story save Homer and his own imagination. He is strictly limited by Homer till he reaches his theophany; then he is quite unrestricted. These are conditions unknown elsewhere. And he is working under strictly hieratic influence,—he has to appear as a champion of the mysteries in their most official and conventional aspect—to represent them as guiding infallibly a piece of state policy."

Dr Leaf in his explanation of the Muse's prophecy follows Maass: Orpheus is Bacchus' *προφήτης* with his shrine on the hills: Rhesus will have a similar shrine on the plain. But he takes a subtler meaning out of the Muse's¹ complaint

¹ Dr Leaf thinks Rhesus' relationship to the Muses an invention of Euripides. Does he then suppose the proximity of the shrine of

against Athena. Instead of regarding it as merely the expression of a mother's grief and indignation, he interprets it as a call to Athens to right the wrong Athene committed. The Muses have been very gracious to Athens in giving her the mysteries of Orpheus and Musaeus, but Athene has been ungrateful in bringing about the death of Rhesus. The only remedy is to restore the hero to his native soil.

But if the story of Rhesus has no root in Thracian legend how did the poet know that the Strymon region was his native soil? Dr Leaf refers to the oracle cited by Polyaenus which told the Athenians they should have no success in founding Amphipolis

*πρὶν ἀν κομίσητ’ ἀπὸ Τροίης
‘Ρήσου ἀνευρόντες καλάμην, πατρίγ δὲ τ’ ἀρούρη
κρύψητ’ εὐαγέως.*

But whence did the oracle derive the information? It *invented* it. “If the oracle had to find and to recommend to Athens a Thracian hero who had died away from his own land, and whose grave was known, so that his bones could be repatriated, it would seem that the choice was singularly limited....Rhesus came from Thrace; the name is vague enough; why not make him the son of the Strymon?”

Dr Leaf, then, believes in three ‘inventions.’ The author of the *Doloneia* ‘invents’ Rhesus; the oracle ‘invents’ his connection with the Strymon; Euripides ‘invents’ his relationship to the Muses. We prefer still to think that there was a legendary basis for all three. This is the main point at issue.

But we cannot help feeling that the play is not suitable to the occasion to which Dr Leaf (as Vater before him) has attributed it. The occasion was the conveying home of the relics of Rhesus. But in the play the Muse refuses the kind offices of Hector and herself takes charge of the body for conveyance home. Surely the appearance of the play in

Clio to the memorial of Rhesus in Amphipolis (mentioned by Marsyas) a mere coincidence, or a result of Euripides’ fiction?

437 B.C. would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of Hagnon's expedition to Troy. If the play is by Euripides at all it must have been written before the romantic exploit of Hagnon, and the oracle which was its inspiration.

II. THE LITERARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLAY

A work of art composed in a distant age, in an environment which we can but imperfectly comprehend, must of necessity remain something of an enigma. We cannot tell precisely what impression it was intended to produce on the mind of contemporaries approaching it with preconceptions which the modern reader does not share. Yet it is only in so far as we succeed in placing ourselves in the mental attitude of those for whom it was written that we can justly criticize it at all. We are thus forced to ask, What was the poet's purpose in writing the *Rhesus*? At first sight the answer is simple. It appears the most unpretentious of extant tragedies. It was written, we feel, not to suggest a problem, but to tell a story, and that simply for the sake of the story itself. What we ought to admire is the manner in which the familiar tale is presented to us, the vivid picture of the Trojan camp on that night of suspense and agony, the swiftness with which incident succeeds incident and one emotion passes into another, the appropriateness of the speeches, the rich colour of the style. And this impression of the play would probably be right. At any rate we should find many excellent critics on our side.

Most of the attempts to read a deeper significance into the tragedy are too far-fetched to need criticism. But the view of a recent writer on Euripides, Dr H. Steiger¹, deserves notice. Steiger maintains that the poet in treating the Homeric myth adopts the attitude not of a mere artist but of a moral critic, who has read the *Doloneia* with indignation and is filled with rage against its gods and heroes. While

¹ *Euripides, seine Dichtung und seine Persönlichkeit* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 90 ff.

the poet of the *Doloneia* regards the slaying of the Thracians in their sleep as an heroic adventure, the poet of the play sees in it only a savage and brutal murder. He condemns alike the heroes who did the deed and the goddess who incited them to it. The poet of the play, unlike Homer, sides with the Trojans, and if we find something of the braggart in both Hector and Rhesus, it is because the poet is out of sympathy with war and warriors. But the fundamental teaching of the *Rhesus* is ‘murder remains murder though Pallas Athene preside over it from beginning to end.’ Such teaching, adds Steiger, is notably Euripidean, and is an argument for the genuineness of the play.

But is this the fundamental doctrine of the *Rhesus*, or does it not rather represent an ingenious but one-sided interpretation of it? Steiger points out two modifications made by the poet in the Homeric story, first, that our sympathy is claimed for the Trojans, not the Greeks; secondly, that the goddess Athene intervenes to protect the heroes while engaged in their deed of blood. But the first modification was, as Steiger himself admits, a dramatic necessity; and, though the action of Athene renders the work of the heroes less perilous and therefore less heroic than it appears in the Homeric version, we have no reason to suppose that the poet wished to brand it as an atrocity. It is futile to compare, as Steiger does, the position of things in the *Rhesus* with that described in the *Troades*. In the latter play the poet shows how the sack of a city affects the non-combatants, unoffending women and children. But Rhesus and his followers suffered a fate for which any soldier must be prepared. They were slain during the actual progress of a campaign. Their ally Hector had, not an hour before, sent Dolon to the camp of the Greeks, and the chorus had prayed that it might be his fortune to slay Agamemnon or Menelaus in precisely the same fashion as Diomedes slays Rhesus. The words of Rhesus which Steiger quotes,

οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ εὑψυχος ἀξιοῦ λάθρα
κτεῖναι τὸν ἔχθρὸν, ἀλλ' ίών κατὰ στόμα,

are obviously spoken in character, and there is no more reason to regard them as containing the poet's verdict on the transaction than there is to suppose that the notorious

ἢ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἢ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος

of Hippolytus was a guiding principle of the poet's own life. As for the reproach against Athene (v. 937 ff.), it is uttered by the mother of Rhesus, no disinterested critic, and even she exclaims against the conduct of the goddess not as inhuman but as ungrateful in view of the Muses' many services to Athens.

Yet we must admit an element of truth in Steiger's contention. The poet, as he says, was no friend to wars or battle-cries. As Professor Murray¹ with his usual insight observes of the last scene of the play, "what is most characteristic is the sudden flavour of bitterness, the cold wind that so suddenly takes the heart out of joyous war." Though we may not follow Steiger in regarding the play as a rationalistic or humanitarian pamphlet, we may yet find in this 'bitter flavour' the mark of Euripides.

III. THE TEXT

Kirchhoff in his critical edition of Euripides (Berlin, 1855) showed that our extant MSS. fall into two distinct classes giving different recensions of the text. The first class represents an edition of nine select plays (including the *Rhesus*) with scholia; the second, an edition of the nineteen extant plays. Kirchhoff attached much greater importance to the MSS. of the former class; but his estimate has been modified by later critics, e.g. Nauck, Wilamowitz and Prinz, who, while admitting a greater number of errors and interpolations in the second class of MSS., regard them nevertheless as but little inferior in authority.

¹ *Euripides and his Age*, p. 71.

In indicating the MSS. I have followed Murray's symbols. For the *Rhesus*, of MSS. possessing independent authority the following belong to Kirchhoff's first class :

Vaticanus 909, cited as V, Kirchhoff's B, 12th or 13th century, *Laurentianus* XXXI, 10, as O, Kirchhoff's C, 14th century.

The chief representatives of his second class are :

Laurentianus XXXII, 2, L, Kirchhoff's C, 14th century. *Palatinus* 287, P, Kirchhoff's B, 14th century.

Of all these V is, for the *Rhesus*, undoubtedly the best, O is of value chiefly for its close approximation to the *Marcianus*, the best MS. of Euripides. As the *Rhesus* is not found in the *Marcianus*, O is occasionally useful. It contains vv. 1-714 of our play.

The exact relation of L to P is uncertain. Wilamowitz¹ believes them to be both derived directly from a lost MS. written not earlier than the 12th century, from which L was copied about the beginning, P towards the end of the 14th century.

Of inferior MSS. the *codex Hauniensis* (Haun.), of the 15th century belongs to the first of Kirchhoff's two classes. It closely resembles V, of which some have even regarded it as a copy, but it has suffered from contamination and interpolation. Wilamowitz denies it all authority, but for the *Rhesus* it is of use where V is mutilated (vv. 112-151, 531-630, 940-996). The consensus of the copy of V, known as *Palatinus inter Vaticanos* 98, with Haun., I have followed Murray in denoting as (V).

The cod. *Harleianus*, a very late MS., is of use chiefly for the argument.

The Ambrosian fragments (12th or 13th century) contain *Rhesus* 856-884. Vv. 48-96 are found in a fragment of a papyrus (4th or 5th century) known as cod. *Panopolitanus*.

¹ *Anal. Eur.* pp. 3-9.

Some light is thrown upon the text by the *Christus Patiens*, a cento of passages from the *Rhesus*, *Bacchae*, *Troades* and *Hippolytus*, containing some 2000 lines. The author has borrowed some fifty lines from our play, but his frequent disregard of quantity combined with the limitations of vocabulary which he has imposed upon himself, seriously diminishes the value of the cento as a testimony to the original readings.

IV. THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

A. External Evidence

The fact of the *Rhesus* having come down to us in the MSS. of Euripides affords in itself a presumption of its authenticity. Further evidence bearing on the question is to be sought in the scholia and the arguments prefixed to the play.

The scholia except for a few interlinear and marginal glosses are found in one MS. only, V. They are divided by Wilamowitz¹ into three classes :

(1) *explanations of single words*, derived, in his opinion, from ancient lexica ;

(2) *paraphrases* of the more difficult passages with explanations of complicated constructions ;

(3) scholia in which the paraphrast has incorporated *criticisms directed against the poet*, on the ground of some absurdity or improbability, or some error in legend or mythology.

The paraphrast (to whom Wilamowitz attributes our scholia in their present form) has made constant use of a mythological handbook, dating perhaps from the first century, A.D.

Of the three classes of scholia the last alone possesses features of special interest.

¹ *De Rhesi Scholiis*: Greifswald, 1889.

It was a custom of ancient critics to affix the symbol χ to passages which they regarded as open to objection, and to those also which seemed to them to illustrate or explain the difficulty involved. In several instances our scholia directly refer to this symbol. In vv. 237–240 the poet mentions

Φθιάδων ἵππων.....
τὰς πόντιος Αἰακίδα
Πηλεῖ δίδωσι δάιμων.

On v. 240 the scholiast observes: τάς· ὅτι θηλυκῶς· "Ομῆρος 'Ξάνθον καὶ Βαλίον' καὶ 'Ποσειδάνων ἔπορ' αὐτούς." διὸ τὸ χ. He blames the poet for describing the steeds of Achilles as *mares*, since Homer speaks of them as horses. The χ must originally have been affixed also to v. 185 which proves that the steeds referred to as mares in v. 240 were the veritable Homeric horses of Achilles. V. 185 reads:

εὖ ἀφθίτων γὰρ ἄφθιτοι πεφυκότες

and has appended to it a scholium which would be meaningless except in reference to v. 240: πάρ' Ομήρου ἐλαβε τὴν ιστορίαν. That is to say, the poet's use of the epithet *ἄφθιτοι* shows that he derived his information from Homer, yet he is so shamefully inaccurate as to refer afterwards to the animals in the feminine!

A reference to the χ is found again only in the scholia on vv. 41 and 716, but we find many scholia containing adverse criticism of the poet without making (in their present form) explicit reference to the symbol. To give two examples: on v. 165 which reads,

τάξαι δὲ μισθὸν πλὴν ἐμῆς τυραννίδος,

the comment is, γελοῖον τὸ οὔεσθαι ὅτι βασιλείαν αἰτήσει.

On vv. 259 ff.

κτανὼν δ' Ἀγαμεμνόνιον
κρᾶτ' ἐνέγκοι Ἐλένα κακόγαμβρον
εἰς χέρας γόον.....

the scholiast, objecting to the use of the word *κακόγαμβρον* of

Agamemnon in his relation to Helen, comments οὐκ ἀκριβῶς εἴρηκεν · οὐ γὰρ Ἀ. τῇ Ἐ. γαμβρός.

Finally, we find instances where adverse criticism is followed by vindication of the poet; e.g. on v. 356, where it is said of Rhesus,

ἢκεις διφρεύων βαλιαῖσι πάλοις,

the scholiast objects οὐ κυρίως νῦν τῇ λέξει κέχρηται, λευκὰς γὰρ εἰχεν, ως καὶ ἀνωτέρω αὐτὰς ἔφη but the vindication is added δύναται δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ταχείας.'

Again in vv. 507 f. where the charge is made against Odysseus,

ἀεὶ δ' ἐν λόχοις εὑρίσκεται
Θυμβραῖον ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἄστεως πέλας
θάσσων,

the scholiast, after citing Dionysodorus for the statement that the altar was distant fifty stadia from the city, adds the inept vindication: δύναται δὲ καὶ στίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ βωμόν, ἡ ἄστεος πέλας. οὐδὲν γὰρ τὸ κωλῦον.

We find then in this 'third class' of scholia on the *Rhesus*, objections made to statements of the poet, followed in some instances¹ by refutation of the objections.

How are the peculiarities to be accounted for?

Wilamowitz supposes that there was composed in the Alexandrian age a *critical edition* of the *Rhesus* in which verses containing matter for comment were marked with the symbol χ. Not later than the first century B.C. a treatise was composed to explain why the χ was affixed to the several verses in this edition. Wilamowitz is inclined to date this treatise before Christ, since in the relics of it extant in our scholia there is no mention of any grammarian of later date than Aristarchus (died B.C. 146) and his disciples. Afterwards there arose another grammarian who added a new commentary to that of his predecessor, refuting his criticisms

¹ Scholia containing criticisms without refutation are found on vv. 165, 260, 427, 502, 521, 716.

so far as he could. This commentary was used as a foundation by the paraphrast to whom we owe our present scholia. The compiler of the latter of these commentaries we may for convenience call ‘the vindicator,’ and his predecessor ‘the critic.’

Assuming Wilamowitz to be correct in his account of the origin of these scholia, we ask, what was the purpose of the ‘*editio κεχιασμένη*’ and the treatise explanatory of it.

Wilamowitz finds no trace of a similar edition of any other Euripidean play. He concludes that the object of the critic was to prove the *Rhesus* spurious.

The theory of Wilamowitz cannot be brought to any very decisive test. But little of the critic’s work has survived, and this only after passing through the hands of his opponent, the vindicator, from whom the paraphrast who drew up our scholia is supposed to have derived them. It is possible that the vindicator, while labouring to refute the criticisms in detail, suppressed all mention of the thesis which they were intended to establish. At any rate one might read the scholia from beginning to end without finding any hint that any one had ever questioned the authenticity of the play. In two passages the criticism takes the form of a charge against *Euripides*. The verses 250 ff. are thus given in the MSS. :

ἢστι Φρυγῶν τις
ἢστιν ἄλκιμος, ἔνι δὲ θράσος
ἐν αἰχμᾷ ποτὶ Μυσῶν ὃς ἐμὰν
συμπαχίαν ἀτίξει.

The scholiast, who understands the words *ποτὶ Μυσῶν* in the sense ‘like a Mysian,’ and supposes a reference to the proverb *ἢσχατος Μυσῶν* (which he explains at great length), embodies in his note the following criticism, *κέχρηται δὲ καὶ νῦν Εὐριπίδης¹ τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους*.

¹ Wilamowitz however asserts, without giving any grounds for the assertion, “hoc nomen primitus hic non legebatur” (*De Schol. Rhesi*, p. 11).

Again on v. 43^o

*ἐνθ' αίματηρὸς πέλανος ἐς γαῖαν Σκύθης
ἡντλεῖτο*

the scholiast objects to the use of *πέλανος* in reference to *liquid* blood and proceeds, *ἀκύρως δὲ κέχρηται τῷ πέλανος,* *ἄμεινον δὲ ἔτέρωθι εἰπεν ἀφράδη πέλανον.* As *ἔτέρωθι* refers to *Orest.* 220, it would seem that the two plays are assumed to be by the same author.

Moreover, in schol. 508 and 529 Dionysodorus and Crates are quoted, who in the very act of fault-finding, proclaim their belief in the Euripidean *provenance* of the play. We find no suggestion that the critic who quoted them was less ‘orthodox’ than they.

There remains the difficult scholium on v. 41. V here reads *πυραίθει στρατὸς Ἀργόλας.*

The scholiast, who is ignorant of any readings other than those found in V, comments: *τὸ χ ὅτι συνθέτως ἀναγιγνώσκεται, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐστιν Εὐριπίδου ὁ στίχος*¹. The first clause recognises the fact that *πυραίθει* is an incorrectly formed compound; what is the meaning of the second? The verse is necessary to the sense and is required by the strophic correspondence. Wilamowitz proposes to delete the words *ὁ στίχος*, as “Byzantini supplementum,” and explains the clause ‘and because it (the play) is not the work of Euripides.’ Presumably Wilamowitz means that this verse is the sole survivor of a series of verses marked with *χ*, as containing anomalies, the cumulative effect of which satisfied the critic that the play was spurious. But can any sense be derived from the note as it stands? The line is marked with *χ*, ‘because *πυραίθει* is read as a compound word and the verse (consequently) does not come from Euripides.’ Might this not mean that the verse in its present form is bad Greek, therefore non-Euripidean and therefore corrupt?

¹ Schol. thus given by Murray (*crit. note* v. 41) who would read *ἢ* for *καὶ*. Dindorf gives *ἀναγιγνώσκετον* instead of *ἀναγιγνώσκεται* as the reading of V.

This single scholium, as emended and interpreted by himself, is the only evidence Wilamowitz produces for his theory that the author of the adverse criticisms was trying to prove our play spurious. We have however cited four passages of adverse criticism which in their present form point to an opposite conclusion.

Wilamowitz may be right about the *form* in which the criticisms originally appeared, but in any event we see nothing to prevent us from regarding them as the work of an Alexandrian using the play as a ‘corpus vile’ on which to exercise his ingenuity, without any *arrière pensée* as to its authorship.

It is clear, at any rate, that Dionysodorus (schol. 508) and Crates regarded the play as genuine, and the probability is that Parmeniscus (schol. 529) and Aristarchus (schol. 540) were of the same opinion.

We now turn to the two Arguments. The former of these contains our only evidence that the *Rhesus* was suspected in antiquity. The anonymous author, after summarizing the plot, proceeds:

τοῦτο τὸ δράμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει [ὑποφαίνειν Valckenaer] χαρακτῆρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὄμολογεῖ.

In this passage Wilamowitz finds his theory of the origin of our scholia confirmed. Here, too, he recognizes the ‘critic’ and the ‘vindicator.’ But are not the grounds on which the attack is made entirely different in the two cases? The *ἔνιοι* suspected the genuineness of the play because they felt the style to be that of Sophocles rather than Euripides. The critic in the scholia pilloried the poet for referring to the horses of Achilles in the feminine, for calling the white steeds of Rhesus *βαλιαί*, for the anachronism of representing the theft of the Palladium as prior to the arrival of the Thracians, for making Adrasteia daughter of Zeus! Which

of these eccentricities, we may ask, would Wilamowitz regard as belonging to the *Σοφόκλειος χαρακτήρ*? Walda¹ calls attention to the form of the sentence, in which the notion ‘spurious’ is conveyed, both positively (*νόθον*) and negatively (*Εὐριπίδον δὲ μὴ εἶναι*). This is done, he suggests, to mark more emphatically the antithesis of the clauses. The *ἔνιοι* doubted the *Euripidean* authorship of the *Rhesus*, *τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον χαρακτῆρα ὑποφαίνει*. It would be well if the exact ground and nature of this judgment were always remembered by modern scholars.

It is not easy to discover wherein consists the *Σοφόκλειος χαρακτήρ*. The student, as he reads the play, may be impressed by an element of richness and romance alien to the usual manner of Euripides ; he may observe the close relation of the choral odes to the action of the piece ; he may be struck by the similarity of the *rôles* played by Athena in the *Rhesus* and the *Ajax*. But anything distinctively Sophoclean he will fail to detect. Nor have the careful researches of Eysert and Rolfe brought to light any special resemblances in style or treatment between the *Rhesus* and the extant plays of Sophocles.

Wilamowitz conjectures that our play is an imitation of Sophocles’ *Ποιμένες*, of which a few fragments remain. The scene of the *Ποιμένες* was laid in the Trojan camp ; the deaths of Protesilaus and Cycnus provide a double catastrophe like the deaths of Dolon and Rhesus in our play ; the chorus

¹ *Zur Rhesosfrage* (Jahres-Bericht des Staats-Gymnasiums : Prachatitz, 1908).

There is a passage in the article on the life and style of Thucydides attributed to Marcellinus (c. 500 A.D.) the language of which bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the present passage : *λέγονσι δέ τινες τὴν ὄγδόην ιστορίαν νοθεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι Θουκυδίδον, ἀλλ' οἱ μέν φασι εἶναι τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ Ξενοφῶντος*. After objecting to the first of these alternatives, the author proceeds *ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ Ξενοφῶντός ἐστιν, ὁ χαρακτήρ μόνον οὐχὶ βοᾷ· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μέσον ισχνοῦ χαρακτῆρος καὶ ὑψηλοῦ*.

of shepherds corresponds to the shepherd who reports the coming of the Thracians. But our knowledge of the Ποιμένες is too scanty to enable us to theorize with confidence upon its relation (if any) to the *Rhesus*.

To return to the first Argument. Its author rebuts the suspicion of the ἔντοι partly by the somewhat puerile contention that the astronomical passage (*Rhesus* 526–537) betrays the hand of Euripides, well known for his interest in physical science; partly by the definite statement that the play is inscribed as genuine in the *didascaliae*. This latter statement is of great importance. Of the authority of the *didascaliae* there can be no reasonable doubt. If we were quite certain that the reference in the *didascaliae* was to our *Rhesus*, there would be an end of the controversy. Curiously enough, it is the very next sentence of the Argument which, as much as any other consideration, has led many scholars to doubt whether this is so.

The Argument proceeds: πρόλογοι δὲ διπτοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαίαρχος [Nauck and all succeeding editors for MSS. δικαίαν] ἐκτιθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ 'Ρήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὗτως· 'νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ἡ διφρήλατος.' καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος πεζὸς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὐριπίδῃ· καὶ τάχα ἄντινες τῶν ὑποκριτῶν διεσκευακότες εἰεν αὐτόν· ἔχει δὲ οὗτως.

"Two prologues are extant. Dicaearchus, at any rate, in expounding the subject of the *Rhesus* writes word for word 'νῦν.....διφρήλατος.' And in some of the copies also there is extant another prologue, very prosy and not worthy of Euripides ; and perhaps it may be the composition of some of the actors. It runs as follows." [Then come eleven uninspiring tribrachs.]¹

The author of the first Argument, then, knew of three different openings to the *Rhesus*: (1) the anapaests spoken by the chorus of guards—the only opening known to Aris-

¹ See first Argument *infra*.

tophanes of Byzantium¹, (2) the prologue found in the *ὑπόθεσις* of Dicaearchus, (3) ‘the very prosy verses perhaps put together by the actors.’

How are we to account for the variety? Or, if we assume the author of the Argument to be right about (3) what are we to say of (2)?

It has been suggested that (2) was the prologue of the real *Rhesus* of Euripides which had been lost and forgotten before the days of Aristophanes of Byzantium (ob. c. 180 *ante Chr.*). In the interval our extant play came to be substituted for the lost masterpiece and was handed down to us as genuine.

This theory, originated by Morstadt, has been supported by Menzer, Hagenbach, and somewhat dubiously by Rolfe.

It may be admitted as in the highest degree probable that *our* play never possessed a prologue in organic unity with the rest. But it is quite possible that the Dicaearchan prologue was a mere addition to the original play and that Dicaearchus quoted it as such.

That prologue, we are told, was published in the *ὑπόθεσις* of Dicaearchus. From Sextus Empiricus (*adv. Math.* III. 3) we learn that Dicaearchus wrote *ὑποθέσεις* to Sophocles and Euripides. From the discussion by Sextus of the various applications of the word *ὑπόθεσις*, Schrader² concludes that the *ὑποθέσεις* of Dicaearchus were ‘no excerpts from the dramas, but an investigation into the mythical material underlying them.’ Dicaearchus then would not have quoted the prologue as an elegant extract from the play, but rather to establish or illustrate some feature in the treatment of the myth. Had the prologue been an integral portion of the play, a reference or at most the quotation of the relevant passage would have sufficed. The citation of the prologue

¹ v. second Argt *infra*. For προλογίζουσι = *open the play* cf. first Argt. *Oed. Col.* (*ad fin.*) προλογίζει Οἰδίπον.

² v. Martini in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Dicaearchus. .

κατὰ λέξιν, ‘word for word,’ may be held to confirm the view that it was a later addendum.

Morstadt and his followers sought by sacrificing our play to save the authority of Dicaearchus. But Wilamowitz sweeps away the play, the prologue, and the critical reputation of Dicaearchus in one general ruin. In the course of some remarks on the plays of the fourth century he asserts dogmatically: ‘The *Rhesus*, which arose about 370–60, already about 300 possessed one spurious prologue and by about 200 another!’. Our play then began its career of deception early and deceived the very elect; for Dicaearchus (347–287 B.C.) was not only the disciple of the first compiler of *didascaliae*, Aristotle, but a literary critic who composed *ὑποθέσεις* to the plays of Sophocles and Euripides; yet we are to believe he mistook for a play of Euripides a piece not twenty years older than himself!

But as we have seen the citation of a prologue by Dicaearchus in his *ὑπόθεσις* does not necessarily mean that the critic regarded it as an integral portion of the play: hence we may still believe our *Rhesus* genuine and suppose (with Prof. Murray) ‘that it was performed more than once after the poet’s death and adapted by the producer for each occasion’; comparing the *Iphigenia in Aulis* ‘which like the *Rhesus* and like no other Greek tragedy has two alternative openings, one a dull prologue, and one a lyrical scene in anapaests under the stars.’ Dr Leaf, who believes in the authenticity of the play, argues that it cannot well be later than 424 B.C. After the loss of Amphipolis the Athenians would not be in the mood for listening to a play about Thrace. We have tried above to show that the subject-matter of the last scene would seem incongruous to an audience which remembered the circumstances attending the expedition of Hagnon, and are therefore inclined to date the play considerably before 437. Our only information on the matter is contained in the scholium (on v. 529) which attributes the following statement to Crates:

. 1 *Heracles*, ed. 1, p. 130 *ad fin.*

Κράτης ἀγνοεῖν φησι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν, διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτι εἶναι ὅτε τὸν 'Ρῆσον ἐδίδασκε.

The charge against the poet was a false one, based upon a careless reading of a single passage, but the statement contained in the latter clause may have been founded on external evidence now lost. Euripides was born in 480 B.C.

B. Internal Evidence

Vocabulary

Assailants of the *Rhesus* have founded their strongest argument on its vocabulary. Valckenaer, the most confident of them all, asserted: ‘there are more unexampled words (*ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*) in the *Rhesus* alone than in all the extant plays and fragments of Euripides combined.’ This line of attack was developed by Hermann and Hagenbach¹, the latter of whom compiled from the play lists of (1) *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*, (2) words not found in the extant works or fragments of the three great tragedians.

It was not however till the appearance of a pamphlet by Eysert² that the linguistic comparison between the *Rhesus* and the other Euripidean plays was carried out on systematic lines. The independent investigations of J. C. Rolfe³ cover much the same ground and serve to confirm Eysert’s main conclusions.

Eysert begins with the *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*. He provides a complete list of these for all the plays and fragments of Euripides, and finds that the *Rhesus* contains just one-eighteenth of the total number. The number of *ἄπαξ εἰρ.* per hundred lines in the various plays is as follows: *Cyclops* 3·1, *Rhesus* 2·81, *Iph. Taur.* 2·34, *Phœn.* 2·27, *Bacch.* 2·23, *Ion* 2·22, *Herc. Fur.* 1·97, *Iph. Aul.* 1·96, *Suppl.* 1·86,

¹ *De Rheso Trag.* Bâle, 1865.

² *Rhesus im Lichte des Euripideischen Sprachgebrauches* (1891).

³ *The Tragedy Rhesus* (Harvard Studies, IV), 1892.

Electra 1·84, *Hel.* 1·59, *Troad.* 1·35, *Hipp.* 1·29, *Orest.* 1·28, *Hec.* 1·23, *Andr.* 0·79, *Heracleidae* 0·76, *Med.* 0·63, *Alc.* 0·60.

These figures need no comment. The argument of Valckenaer and his followers simply crumbles away.

It will be convenient for the student to have Eysert's list of ἄπαξ εἰρημένα in the *Rhesus*. Rolfe adds ἀνθρωποδάίμων, which is used, but in a quite different sense, by Procopius. As may be seen from the commentary many of the words are only unique by accident, similar formations being not infrequent in classical literature.

ἀμβλώψ	737,	κεροδετος	33,	ρακόδυτος	712,
ἄησις	417,	μηνάς	534,	ταχυβάτης	134,
ἀριστότοκος	909,	νυκτίβρομος	552,	τετράμοιρος	5,
δίβαμος	215,	οἰνοπλάνητος	363,	τευχοφόρος	3,
ἐξανγής	304,	όφειλέτις	965,	φυλλόστρωτος	9,
θουνατήριον	315,	πανημερεύω	361,	χρυσόβωλος	921,
κακόγαμβρος	260,	πολυπινής	716,	χρυσοτευχής	340,
καλλιγέφυρος	349,	προπότης	361,	ψαφαρόχρωος	716.
καρανιστής	817,	προσαύλειος	273,		
καρποποιός	964,	προυξερευνητής	296,		

The remaining calculations of Eysert show that in vocabulary the *Rhesus* differs in no marked way from the other Euripidean tragedies.

Out of 74 words found more than once in the Euripidean plays, and nowhere else in Greek literature, 8 come from the *Rhesus*.

Of words (other than epic reminiscences) occurring once only in the tragic poets, while the *Rhesus* has 5·42 to every hundred lines the *Bacchae* has 7·4. (See *infra* p. 93.)

Of Homeric words found once only in the Tragics the *Rhesus* has fewer than either the *Phoenissae* or the *Cyclops*.

As the *Rhesus* and the *Cyclops* are the only two plays whose plot is derived from Homer, it is not without interest to compare the Homeric words peculiar to each.

Rhesus has : ἀμπείρας (514), δέχθαι (525), ἐπιθρώσκω (100), μέμβλωκα (629), μέρμερος (509), τολυπεύω (744).

From *Cyclops* Eysert cites: ἀνακαίω (383), ἀνθρακιά (358), ἄσπετος (615), αὐλίς (363), βόειος (218), βοτάνη (45), δαισύμαλλος (360), δινήεις (46), εἴσομαι, fut. of εἰμι (62), λύγος (225), μηκάς (189), συμμάρπτω (397), τέφρα (641), χηρόω (304).

Rolfe has compiled elaborate lists, comparing the vocabulary of the *Rhesus* with that of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus respectively. His conclusion is: "The language of the *Rhesus* is Aeschylean rather than Euripidean, while the resemblance to the language of Sophocles is slight. There is certainly no servile imitation of any one of the three."

It remains to notice certain words and expressions which seem to Wecklein to be strong evidence that our *Rhesus* is not the work of Euripides:

ἀνθρωποδαίμων (971). If the word is unique so apparently is the position in reference to which the term is applied to *Rhesus*. See above, p xix.

τείνεσθαι εἰς τι (875). The act. is regular but the passive is found in this sense (in the perfect) Plato, *Rep.* 581 B, *Phaedrus* 270 E, *Laws* 770 D.

προταυνί is said to be a Boeotian word (schol. 523) but occurs nowhere else. As Paley urges, its very strangeness is an argument that the play in which it occurs is not a conscious imitation of an older poet.

δόρη. This, though not a tragic form, is found in a comedy of Theopompus. See Comm.

δέχθαι and *μέμβλωκα* (525, 629) are Homeric forms not found in Attic, but *Cyclops* has *εἴσομαι* (from *εἰμι*), a no less startling aberration.

Wecklein also thinks that Euripides was incapable of writing the phrase *ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων* five times in the course of some five hundred lines, and *στείχεω* eleven times in the same play, but we have no certainty that the taste of Euripides in such a matter was the same as that of Dr Wecklein.

The argument based on the use of *πελτασταί* is more serious because not subjective. "This word," writes Rolfe,

“which first occurs Thuc. II. 29, does not seem to have been formed before the Peloponnesian War when the Athenians had Thracian allies.” It might, however, be argued that in Thrace where the $\pi\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ came from, the word was current much earlier. The poet of the *Rhesus*, as we have seen, exhibits a close acquaintance with Thrace and Thracian customs. To take a modern example, our word *khaki*, although long in use among Anglo-Indians, remained unfamiliar to many civilians at home, otherwise well informed, until the days of the South African War.

Phraseology

Even the casual reader will recognize the difference between the manner and tone of the *Rhesus* and the manner and tone of the other Euripidean plays. Hence those critics who admit it as genuine have accepted the dictum of Crates and assigned it to the youth of the poet. Hagenbach, however, compiled a list containing some 84 expressions identical with or closely resembling phrases found only in the later works of Euripides. This list has been revised by Rolfe; many resemblances he disregards as being without significance; to many expressions classified by Hagenbach as Euripidean he has found parallels in Aeschylus or Sophocles. There remain some thirty passages on which Rolfe bases his conclusion that the author of our play ‘was acquainted with all the works of Euripides and hence lived after his time.’

We shall do well not to lay too much stress upon such a test, remembering that while we have only seven plays remaining from each of the earlier tragedians, we have eighteen from Euripides, that these all belong to the later years of the poet’s life, and that consequently we have very little material for judging what the common stock of poetical expression was in Euripides’ early manhood.

There is also the probability, suggested by the existence of alternative openings, that our play was revised for reproduction after the death of Euripides.

For these reasons it is difficult to derive any positive conclusion from the investigations of Rolfe and Hagenbach.

We may feel pretty sure that v. 308 of our play

πολλοῖσι σὺν κάδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον

owes its origin to the

χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κάδωνες φόβον

of Aesch. *Sept.* 373 [produced in B.C. 467] but none of the Euripidean parallels is similarly convincing. The reader may judge their general character from the first half dozen of those compiled by Hagenbach and admitted as satisfactory by Rolfe, who indicates no ‘order of merit’ in his parallels.

Rhesus 7. ὕρθον κεφαλήν. cf. ὕρθωσον κάρα, *Herac.* 635.

ὕρθοῦτε κάρα, *Hipp.* 198. ὕρθον πρόσωπον,
Alc. 388.

„ 8. λῦσον βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἔδραν. cf. στυγνὴν
δόφρὺν λύσασα, *Hipp.* 290.

„ 55. σταίνει μ' ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία. cf. οὐ γάρ με
σταίνει θέσφατα, *Ion* 685.

„ 59. φαεννοὶ ἡλίου λαμπτῆρες. cf. φαενναῖς ἡλίου
περιπτυχαῖς, *Ion* 1517.

„ 85. μάλα σπουδῇ ποδός. cf. καὶ μὴν Ὁδυστεὺς
ἔρχεται σπουδῇ ποδός, *Hec.* 216.

„ 90. πυκάζε τεύχεσιν δέμας σέθεν. cf. κόσμῳ
πυκάζου τῷδε, *Heracl.* 725, and πύκαζε
κρᾶτ' ἐμὸν νικηφόρον, *Tro.* 353.

Syntax

Rolfe's syntactical inquiries do not lead to any more definite results. With apologies for the scantiness of his collection, he cites the following peculiarities as tending to throw suspicion on the view that the play is an early work of Euripides : (1) the preference for *σύν* over *μετά* in the *Rhesus* contrary to the general usage of the poet who employs *μετά* more often than the other two tragedians ; (2) the frequent use in the play of a genitive qualifying a noun after a prepo-

sition instead of the adjective elsewhere customary (e.g. *ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργεῖων* vv. 150, 155, 203, 221, 589); (3) the rarity of anastrophe in our play as compared with the other Euripidean dramas.

Number of Actors

The parts may be thus arranged: (1) Hector, Paris, Odysseus¹; (2) Aeneas, Rhesus, Athena; (3) Dolon, Shepherd, Diomedes, Charioteer, Muse. Thus, the supposition that four actors are needed is untenable.

The reader has now reached a point where he can appreciate the summary of the case against the *Rhesus*, which Rolfe supplies in the form of an answer to the question “Was Euripides the author of our play?”

“The answer is made easier by the fact that all those who now support that view admit that if Euripides wrote our play it was his earliest work. Even they acknowledge that there is a great difference between the *Rhesus* and the later plays of Euripides. On this point Hermann’s remark though not conclusive is significant: ‘Mutat profecto aliquid aetas, facitque saepe ut quis alius videatur vir factus quam adulescens fuit: at non mutantur omnia, sed est etiam quod sibi constet, manentque eiusdem ingeni vestigia.’

“But there are more tangible proofs that the play could not have been written so early. The list of words and expressions given by Wecklein, the fact that the action of the play demands four actors, and the evidence that the author of the *Rhesus* was acquainted with the later plays of Euripides, seem very strong arguments. That the play was not the work of Euripides, though perhaps not necessarily that it was later than his time, is shown by other evidence. First by the apparent lack of a prologue.... Next the arguments from the three cases cited in the examination of the syntax seem to be of some weight. And finally we can

¹ See note v. 626.

hardly believe that Aristophanes would have missed the opportunity of ridiculing a youthful effusion of Euripides."

This summary of the case against the *Rhesus* appeared in 1893. The one feature with which critics had no fault to find was the metrical and rhythmical composition. The proportion of resolved feet in the trimeters of the *Rhesus* is admitted to be such as was usual before the 89th Olympiad (B.C. 424). Division of verses between two speakers is found only in the tetrameter lines, 686–691, never in trimeters—a licence which occurs once in the *Alcestis*.

But now¹ Mr E. Harrison comes forward with a new test under which, it must be admitted, the play fares badly,—verse-weighing. We can only give the barest summary of his results. They are concerned with the ratio of iambi to spondees in the first, third and fifth feet of trimeters. He finds that while in all tragedies a preponderance of spondees over iambi is found in the first and third feet, this preponderance is greater in the *Rhesus* than in any other tragedy. In the fifth foot in all tragedies the iambus has the advantage over the spondee, and here the *Rhesus* is within the limits. This means that in the first half of the foot the *Rhesus* is heavier than any extant tragedy. Again, the proportion of dactyls to tribrachs in the third foot is greater in the *Rhesus* than in any other tragedy. Finally although in regard to number of resolved feet the *Rhesus* belongs to the earlier Euripidean group (before B.C. 424) yet it is at the top, not, as might be expected for a very early play, at the bottom of the list. The general conclusion is that the *Rhesus* is a play apart.

We have now examined the chief arguments advanced against the authenticity of the *Rhesus*. The assailants of the play agree that it is not Euripidean but differ as to its date and birth-place. Hermann and his followers suggest Alexandria and the third century B.C., but the dramatic quality of the play, the length and character of the choral odes, and the improbability that the Alexandrians should mistake a

¹ *Class. Quarterly*, July, 1914.

contemporary or almost contemporary drama for a lost work of Euripides have led to the abandonment of this position.

Wilamowitz is followed by many in dating the play circ. 370–60, after the second Athenian confederacy was established. In doing so he disregards, as we have seen, the testimony of Dicaearchus. Apart from this, so little is known of the tragic drama of the fourth century that it is hard to bring his theory to the proof. Aristotle in the *Poetics*¹ gives us two hints about contemporary drama. The choric passages were remarkable for their irrelevance to the action of the piece. Now there is no play extant where the choric passages are more strictly relevant than the *Rhesus*. Again Aristotle defines the *stasimon* as ‘a choral song without anapaests or trochees.’ Since this definition is not true of classical drama it can only be explained, as by Bywater, of the drama of Aristotle’s own age. It is not true of the *Rhesus*, where anapaests occur in the third stasimon (vv. 538 ff.). Wilamowitz indeed maintains his position, only by regarding the play as a work of conscious imitation. This is so far from being obvious that Wecklein contrasts its ‘economy’ with that of the genuine Euripidean plays and makes the contrast an argument for its rejection.

The *Rhesus* is a peculiar play; peculiar in style, peculiar in subject-matter, peculiar in treatment, peculiar for the suspicions cast upon it in ancient times. It is possible that the peculiarities may be explained on the hypothesis somewhat tentatively put forward by Prof. Gilbert Murray, that it was a pro-satyric drama, written by the youthful Euripides in imitation of Aeschylus, and revised by another hand for reproduction after the poet’s death. All that has been attempted here is to maintain that the investigations of critics, while bringing into relief its various peculiarities, have failed to adduce any facts sufficient to warrant us in disregarding the testimony which assigns it to Euripides.

¹ *Poet.* 1456 a, and 1452 b (with Bywater’s note).

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΡΗΣΟΣ

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

"Εκτωρ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐπικοιτῶν ἀκούσας αὐτοὺς πυρὰ καίειν, εὐλαβήθη μὴ φύγωσιν. ἐξοπλίζειν δὲ διεγνωκὼς τὰς δυνάμεις μετενόησεν Αἰνέιου συμβουλεύσαντος ήσυχάζειν, κατάσκοπον δὲ πέμψαντα δὶ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἴστορησαι. Δόλωνα δὲ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ὑπακούσαντα ἐκπέμπεσθαι... τόπον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀφώρισεν αὐτῷ. ἐπιφανέντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὁδυσσέα, Δόλωνα μὲν ἀνηρηκότες, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν "Εκτορος κατηντηκότες σκηνὴν πάλιν ὑπέστρεφον οὐχ εὑρόντες τὸν στρατηγόν. οὖς Ἀθηνᾶ κατέσχεν ἐπιφανεῖσα καὶ τὸν μὲν "Εκτορα ἐκέλευσε μὴ ζῆτεν, Ῥῆσον δὲ ἀναιρεῖν 10 ἐπέταξε· τὸν γὰρ ἐκ τούτου κίνδυνον ἔσεσθαι μείζονα τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, ἐὰν βιωσῃ. τούτοις δὲ ἐπιφανεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίστασθαι〈φησι〉 πολεμίων παρουσίαν. ἐξαπατηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς, ὡς δῆθεν ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης, ἄπρακτος ὑπέστρεψεν· οἱ δὲ περὶ Διομήδην φονεύσαντες Ῥῆσον ἔχωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῶν ἀνηρημένων καθ' ὅλον ἥλθε τὸ στράτευμα. παραγενομένου δὲ "Εκτορος, ἵνα αὐτὸς περιγύνηται τῶν πεπραγμένων, τετρωμένος δὲ τοῦ Ῥῆσου ἐπιμελητὴς δὶ' αὐτοῦ φησιν "Εκτορος τὸν φόνον γεγενῆσθαι. τοῦ δὲ "Εκτορος ἀπολογουμένου τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐμήνυσεν ἡ τοῦ 20 Ῥῆσον μῆτηρ ἡ Μοῦσα νεκρὸν κομίζουσα τὸ σῶμα. κατοδυρομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπιπλακέντα αὐτῇ Στρυμόνα διὰ τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς πένθος καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγενημένον Ῥῆσον,

13 φησι is inserted by Wilamowitz. πολεμίων Nauck: πολέμου V Harl. 19 φησὶν Kirchhoff: φασὶν Harl., V omits.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

οὐδὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ φησιν ἀδάκρυτον ἔσεσθαι, τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν θανάτῳ τὴν ἴδιαν παραμυθουμένη λύπην.

τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν, Εὑριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει χαρακτῆρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τὸν Εὑριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ.

30

πρόλογοι δὲ διττοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαίαρχος ἐκτιθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ῥήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως·

νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ηδιφρήλατος.

καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος, πεζὸς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὑριπίδη· καὶ τάχα ἄν τινες τῶν ὑποκριτῶν διεσκευακότες εἶεν αὐτόν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

ῳ τοῦ μεγίστου Ζηνὸς ἄλκιμον τέκος

Παλλάς, παρῷμενον οὐκ ἔχρην ἡμᾶς ἔτι
μέλλειν Ἀχαιῶν ὠφελεῖν στρατεύματα.

40

νῦν γὰρ κακῶς πράσσουσιν ἐν μάχῃ δορός,
λόγχῃ βιαίως Ἐκτορος στροβούμενοι.

ἔμοὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἄλγιον βάρος,
ἔξι οὖν γένεται Κύπρινον Ἀλέξανδρος θεὰν
κάλλει προήκειν τῆς ἐμῆς εὐμορφίας
καὶ σῆς, Ἀθάνα, φιλτάτης ἔμοὶ θεῶν,
εἴ μὴ κατασκαφεῖσαν ὅψομαι πόλιν
Πριάμου βίᾳ πρόρριζον ἐκτετριμμένην.

26 Εὑριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι V Haun. ὡς οὐκ ὃν Εὑριπίδου LP Harl.

27 Perhaps ὑποφαίνειν should be read with Valckenaer.

31 Δικαίαρχος Nauck: δικαίαν MSS. except Harl. which omits,

41 μάχη Valckenaer: μακρῆ V Harl.: μακρῷ Haun.: μακῆ LP.

42 βιαίως Hermann: βιαλα V Haun.: βιαίας LP Harl.

45 προ-

ήκειν Valckenaer: προσήκειν MSS.

46 Ἀθάνα Valckenaer: Ἀθηνᾶ MSS. φιλτάτης Valckenaer: φίλτατ' LP Harl. Haun.: φίλατ' V.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

‘Ρῆσος παῖς μὲν ἦν Στρυμόνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Τερψιχόρης, Μουσῶν μᾶς, Θρακῶν δὲ ἡγούμενος εἰς Ἰλιον παραγίνεται νυκτός, στρατοπεδευομένων τῶν Τρώων παρὰ ταῖς ναῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τοῦτον Ὁδυσσεὺς καὶ Διομήδης κατάσκοποι ὄντες ἀναιροῦσιν, Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτοῖς ὑποθεμένης· 5 μέγαν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλῆσι κίνδυνον ἐκ τούτου. Τερψιχόρη δὲ ἐπιφανεῖσα τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς σῶμα ἀνείλετο, ὡς ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ διαλαμβάνει καὶ περὶ τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Δόλωνος.

ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ἐν Τροίᾳ. ὁ χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ φυλάκων Τρωικῶν, οἱ καὶ προλογίζουσι. περιέχει δὲ τὴν 10 Νυκτεγερσίαν.

3 στρατοπεδευομένων Wecklein : στρατευομένων MSS.

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ.
ΕΚΤΩΡ.
ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ.
ΔΟΛΩΝ.
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΝ.
ΡΗΣΟΣ.
ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ.
ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ.
ΑΘΗΝΑ.
ΠΑΡΙΣ.
ΡΗΣΟΥ ΗΝΙΟΧΟΣ.
ΜΟΥΣΑ.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΡΗΣΟΣ

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Βᾶθι πρὸς εὐνὰς τὰς Ἐκτορέους.
τὶς ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγρυπνος βασιλέως,
ἢ τευχοφόρων;
δέξαιτο νέων κληδόνα μύθων,
οἱ τετράμοιρον νυκτὸς φυλακὴν
πάσης στρατιᾶς προκάθηται. 5
ὅρθου κεφαλὴν πῆχυν ἐρείσας,
λῦσον βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἔδραν,
λεῖπε χαμεύνας φυλλοστρώτους,
Ἐκτορ· καιρὸς γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι. 10

ΕΚΤΩΡ.

τίς ὅδ'; ἢ φίλιος φθόγγος· τίς ἀνήρ;
τί τὸ σῆμα; θρόει.
τίνεις ἐκ νυκτῶν τὰς ἡμετέρας
κοίτας πλάθουσ'; ἐνέπειν χρή.
ΧΟ. φύλακες στρατιᾶς. ΕΚ. τί φέρῃ θορύβῳ; 15
ΧΟ. θάρσει. ΕΚ. θαρσῷ.
μῶν τις λόχος ἐκ νυκτῶν; [ΧΟ. οὐκέτι. ΕΚ.]
τί σὺ γὰρ

φυλακὰς προλιπὼν κινεῖς στρατιάν,
εὶ μή τιν' ἔχων νυκτηγορίαν;
οὐκ οἰσθα δορὸς πέλας Ἀργείου
νυχίαν ἡμᾶς
κοίταν πανόπλους κατέχοντας;

20

ΧΟ. ὁπλίζου χέρα· συμμάχων, stroph.

"Ἐκτορ, βâθι πρὸς εὺνάς,
δῆτρυνον ἔγχος ἀείρειν, ἀφύπνισον.
πέμπε φίλους ἵέναι ποτὶ σὸν λόχον,
ἀρμόσατε ψαλίοις ἵππους.
τίς εἴσ' ἐπὶ Πανθοῖδαν,
ἢ τὸν Εύρώπας, Λυκίων ἀγὸν ἀνδρῶν;
ποῦ σφαγίων ἔφοροι;
ποῦ δὲ γυμνήτων μόναρχοι;
τοξοφόροι τε Φρυγῶν
ζεύγνυτε κερόδετα τόξα νευραῖς.

25

ΕΚ. τὰ μὲν ἀγγέλλεις δείματ' ἀκούειν,

τὰ δὲ θαρσύνεις, κούδεν καθαρῶς.

35

ἀλλ' ἢ Κρονίου Πανὸς τρομερᾶ
μάστιγι φοβῆ, φυλακὰς δὲ λιπὼν
κινεῖς στρατιάν; τί θροεῖς; τί σε φῶ
νέον ἀγγέλλειν; πολλὰ γὰρ εἰπὼν
οὐδὲν τρανῶς ἀπέδειξας.

40

ΧΟ. πύρ' αἴθει στρατὸς Ἀργόλας,

antistr.

"Ἐκτορ, πᾶσαν ἀν' ὅρφναν,

διειπετῆ δὲ ναῶν πυρσοῖς σταθμά.

πᾶς δ' Ἀγαμεμνονίαν προσέβα στρατὸς
ἐννύχιος θορύβῳ σκηνάν,

45

23 σύμμαχον. 36 ἥ. 41 πῦρ' αἴθει Ο: πυραΐθει VLP.

νέαν τιν' ἐφιέμενοι
 βάξιν. οὐ γάρ πω πάρος ὥδ' ἐφοβήθη
 ναυσιπόρος στρατιά.
 σοὶ δ', ὑποπτεύων τὸ μέλλον,
 ἥλιυθον ἄγγελος, ως
 μήποτέ τιν' ἐσ ἐμὲ μέμψιν εἴπης.

50

ΕΚ. ἐσ καιρὸν ἥκεις, καίπερ ἀγγέλλων φόβον·
 ἀνδρες γὰρ ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε νυκτέρῳ πλάτῃ
 λαθόντες ὅμμα τούμὸν ἀρεῖσθαι φυγὴν
 μέλλουσι· σαίνει μ' ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία. 55
 ὡ δαῖμον, ὅστις μ' εὔτυχοῦντ' ἐνόσφισας
 θοίνης λέοντα, πρὶν τὸν Ἀργείων στρατὸν
 σύρδην ἄπαντα τῷδ' ἀναλῶσαι δορί.
 εἰ γὰρ φαεννοὶ μὴ ξυνέσχον ἥλιου
 λαμπτῆρες, οὕταν ἔσχον εὔτυχοῦν δόρυ, 60
 πρὶν ναῦς πυρῶσαι καὶ διὰ σκηνῶν μολεῖν
 κτείνων Ἀχαιοὺς τῇδε πολυφόνῳ χερί.
 κάγὼ μὲν ἦ πρόθυμος ἰέναι δόρυ
 ἐν νυκτὶ χρῆσθαι τ' εὔτυχεῖ ῥύμῃ θεοῦ·
 ἀλλ' οἱ σοφοί με καὶ τὸ θεῖον εἰδότες 65
 μάντεις ἔπεισαν ἡμέρας μεῖναι φάος
 κάπειτ' Ἀχαιῶν μηδέν' ἐν χέρσῳ λιπεῖν.
 οὐ δ' οὐ μένουσι τῶν ἐμῶν θυοσκόων
 βουλάς· ἐν ὅρφυῃ δραπέτης μέγα σθένει.
 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα χρὴ παραγγέλλειν στρατῷ 70
 τεύχη πρόχειρα λαμβάνειν λῆξαί θ' ὑπου,
 ως ἂν τις αὐτῶν καὶ νεώς θρῷσκων ἔπι

51 μήποτέ τινα μέμψιν εἰς ἔμ' εἴπης. 53 ἀνδρες. 54 αἱρεισ-
 θαι Pan , αἱρεσθαι or αἱρεσθαι remaining MSS.: φυγῆ.

νῶτον χαραχθεὶς κλίμακας ράνη φόνῳ,
οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν βρόχοισι δέσμιοι λελημμένοι
Φρυγῶν ἀρούρας ἐκμάθωσι γαπονεῖν. 75

- ΧΟ. "Εκτορ, ταχύνεις πρὶν μαθεῖν τὸ δρώμενον·
ἄνδρες γὰρ εἰ φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἵσμεν τορῶς.
ΕΚ. τίς γὰρ πύρ' αἴθειν πρόφασις' Αργείων στρατόν;
ΧΟ. οὐκ οἶδ'. ὑποπτον δὲ ἐστὶ κάρτ' ἐμῇ φρενί.
ΕΚ. πάντ' ἀν φοβηθεὶς ἵσθι, δειμαίνων τόδε. 80
ΧΟ. οὕπω πρὶν ἥψαν πολέμιοι τοσόνδε φῶς.
ΕΚ. οὐδὲ ὡδέ γ' αἰσχρῶς ἔπεσον ἐν τροπῇ δορός.
ΧΟ. σὺ ταῦτ' ἔπραξας· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ νῦν σκόπει.
ΕΚ. ἀπλοῦς ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς μῦθος ὀπλίζειν χέρα.
ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν ὅδε Αἰνέας καὶ μάλα σπουδῇ ποδὸς 85
στείχει, νέον τι πρᾶγμ' ἔχων φίλοις φράσαι.

ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ.

- "Εκτορ, τί χρῆμα νύκτεροι κατὰ στρατὸν
τὰς σὰς πρὸς εὐνὰς φύλακες ἐλθόντες φόβῳ
νυκτηγοροῦσι καὶ κεκίνηται στρατός;
ΕΚ. Αἰνέα, πύκαζε τεύχεσιν δέμας σέθεν. 90
ΑΙ. τί δὲ ἐστι; μῶν τις πολεμίων ἀγγέλλεται
δόλος κρυφαῖος ἐστάναι κατ' εὐφρόνην;
ΕΚ. φεύγουσιν ἄνδρες κάπιβαίνουσιν νεῶν.
ΑΙ. τί τοῦδε ἀν εἴποις ἀσφαλὲς τεκμήριον;
ΕΚ. αἴθουσι πᾶσαν νύκτα λαμπάδας πυρός. 95
καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ μενεῖν ἐς αὔριον,
ἀλλ' ἐκκέαντες πύρος, ἐπ' εὐσέλμων νεῶν
φυγῇ πρὸς οἴκους τῆσδε ἀφορμήσειν χθονός.

- ΑΙ. σὺ δ' ώς τί δράσων πρὸς τάδ' ὄπλιξη χέρας;
 ΕΚ. φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς κάπιθρώσκοντας νεῶν 100
 λόγχη καθέξω κάπικείσομαι βαρύς.
 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνη κακόν,
 θεοῦ διδόντος πολεμίους, ἄνευ μάχης
 φεύγειν ἔāσαι πολλὰ δράσαντας κακά.
 ΑΙ. εἴθ' ἥσθ' ἀνὴρ εὑβουλος ώς δράσας χερί. 105
 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι βροτῶν
 πέφυκεν· ἄλλῳ δ' ἄλλο πρόσκειται γέρας,
 σὲ μὲν μάχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ βουλεύειν καλῶς.
 ὅστις πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας ἐξήρθης κλύων
 φλέγειν· Αχαιούς, καὶ στρατὸν μέλλεις ἄγειν 110
 τάφρους ὑπερβὰς νυκτὸς ἐν καταστάσει.
 καίτοι περάσας κοῖλον αὐλώνων βάθος,
 εἰ μὴ κυρήσεις πολεμίους ἀπὸ χθονὸς
 φεύγοντας, ἀλλὰ σὸν βλέποντας ἐς δόρυ,
 νικώμενος μὲν τήνδε μὴ οὐ μόλης πόλιν. 115
 πῶς γὰρ περάσει σκόλοπας ἐν τροπῇ στρατός;
 πῶς δ' αὖ γεφύρας διαβαλοῦσ' ἵππηλάται,
 ἦν ἄρα μὴ θραύσαντες ἀντύγων χνόας;
 νικῶν δ' ἔφεδρον παῖδ' ἔχεις τὸν Πηλέως,
 ὃς σ' οὐκ ἔάσει ναυσὶν ἐμβαλεῖν φλόγα, 120
 οὐδ' ὁδὸν Ἀχαιούς, ώς δοκεῖς, ἀναρπάσαι.
 αἴθων γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ πεπύργωται χερί.
 ἀλλὰ στρατὸν μὲν ἥσυχον παρ' ἀσπίδας
 εῦδειν ἔώμεν ἐκ κόπων ἀρειφάτων,

105 δράσαι. 110 φεύγειν. 112-151 For these lines V is wanting. The consensus of Haun. and Palatinus inter Vat. 98=(V).
 115 τήνδε οὐ μὴ μόλης πόλιν LP: τήνδε μὴ μόλης πόλιν (V).
 118 ἄρα. 122 ἀνὴρ.

κατάσκοπον δὲ πολεμίων, ὃς ἀν θέλη, 125
 πέμπειν δοκεῖ μοι· καὶ μὲν αἱρωνται φυγὴν,
 στείχοντες ἐμπέσωμεν Ἀργείων στρατῷ·
 εἰ δὲ ἐσ δόλον τιν' ἥδε ἄγει φρυκτωρία,
 μαθόντες ἐχθρῶν μηχανὰς κατασκόπου
 βουλευσόμεσθα· τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ἄναξ. 130

ΧΟ. τάδε δοκεῖ, τάδε μεταθέμενος νόει. stroph.

σφαλερὰ δ' οὐ φιλῶ στρατηγῶν κράτη.
 τί γὰρ ἄμεινον ἢ

ταχυβάταν νεῶν κατόπταν μολεῖν

πέλας ὅ τι ποτ' ἄρα δαίοις

135

πυρὰ κατ' ἀντίπρωρα ναυστάθμων δαίεται;

ΕΚ. νικᾶτ', ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἀνδάνει τάδε.

στείχων δὲ κοίμα συμμάχους· τάχ' ἀν στρατὸς
 κινοῦτ' ἀκούσας νυκτέρους ἐκκλησίας.

ἐγὼ δὲ πέμψω πολεμίων κατάσκοπον. 140

καὶ μέν τιν' ἐχθρῶν μηχανὴν πυθώμεθα,

σὺ πάντ' ἀκούσῃ καὶ παρὼν εἴσῃ λόγον·

έὰν δὲ ἀπάρωσ' ἐσ φυγὴν ὄρμώμενοι,

σάλπιγγος αὐδὴν προσδοκῶν καραδόκει,

ώς οὐ μενοῦντά μ'. ἀλλὰ προσμείξω νεῶν 145

ὅλκοῖσι νυκτὸς τῆσδε ἐπ' Ἀργείων στρατῷ.

ΑΙ. πέμφ' ὡς τάχιστα· νῦν γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς φρονεῖς.

σὺν σοὶ δὲ ἔμ' ὄψει καρτεροῦνθ', ὅταν δέῃ.

ΕΚ. τίς δῆτα Τρώων οἱ πάρεισιν ἐν λόγῳ

θέλει κατόπτης ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν; 150

τίς ἀν γένοιτο τῆσδε γῆς εὐεργέτης;

τίς φησιν; οὕτοι πάντ' ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι
πόλει πατρῷᾳ συμμάχοις θ' ὑπηρετεῖν.

ΔΟΛΩΝ.

ἐγὼ πρὸ γαίας τόνδε κίνδυνον θέλω
ρίψας κατόπτης ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν, 155
καὶ πάντ' Ἀχαιῶν ἐκμαθὼν βουλεύματα
ἥξω· πὶ τούτοις τόνδε ὑφίσταμαι πόνον.

- ΕΚ. ἐπώνυμος μὲν κάρτα καὶ φιλόπτολις
Δόλων· πατρὸς δὲ καὶ πρὶν εὐκλεᾶ δόμον
νῦν δὶς τόσως ἔθηκας εὐκλεέστερον. 160
- ΔΟ. οὔκοῦν πονεῖν μὲν χρή, πονοῦντα δ' ἄξιον
μισθὸν φέρεσθαι. παντὶ γὰρ προσκείμενον
κέρδος πρὸς ἔργῳ τὴν χάριν τίκτει διπλῆν.
- ΕΚ. ναί, καὶ δίκαια ταῦτα κούκλας λέγω.
τάξαι δὲ μισθὸν πλὴν ἐμῆς τυραννίδος. 165
- ΔΟ. οὐ σῆς ἐρῶμεν πολιόχου τυραννίδος.
- ΕΚ. σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ γήμας Πριαμιδῶν γαμβρὸς γενοῦ.
- ΔΟ. οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ μειζόνων γαμεῖν θέλω.
- ΕΚ. χρυσὸς πάρεστιν, εἰ τόδ' αἰτήσῃ γέρας.
- ΔΟ. ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἐν οἴκοις· οὐ βίου σπανίζομεν. 170
- ΕΚ. τί δῆτα χρῆζεις ὡν κέκευθεν "Ιλιος;
- ΔΟ. ἐλῶν Ἀχαιοὺς δῶρά μοι ξυναίνεσον.
- ΕΚ. δώσω· σὺ δ' αἴτει πλὴν στρατηλάτας νεῶν.
- ΔΟ. κτεῖν', οὐ σ' ἀπαιτῶ Μενέλεω σχέσθαι χέρα.
- ΕΚ. οὐ μὴν τὸν Ἰλέως παιδά μ' ἐξαιτῇ λαβεῖν; 175
- ΔΟ. κακαὶ γεωργεῖν χεῖρες εῦ τεθραμμέναι.
- ΕΚ. τίν' οὖν Ἀχαιῶν ζῶντ' ἀποινάσθαι θέλεις;
- ΔΟ. καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον· ἔστι χρυσὸς ἐν δόμοις.

- ΕΚ. καὶ μὴν λαφύρων γ' αὐτὸς αἴρήσῃ παρών.
 ΔΟ. θεοῖσιν αὐτὰ πασσάλευε πρὸς δόμους. 180
 ΕΚ. τί δῆτα μεῦζον τῶνδέ μ' αἰτήσῃ γέρας;
 ΔΟ. ἵππους Ἀχιλλέως· χρὴ δ' ἐπ' ἀξίοις πονεῖν
 ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβοισι δαίμονος.
 ΕΚ. καὶ μὴν ἐρῶντι γ' ἀντερᾶς ἵππων ἐμοί·
 ἐξ ἀφθίτων γὰρ ἄφθιτοι πεφυκότες 185
 τὸν Πηλέως φέρουσι θούριον γόνον·
 δίδωσι δ' αὐτὸὺς πωλοδαμνήσας ἄναξ
 Πηλεῖ Ποσειδῶν, ώς λέγουσι, πόντιος.
 ἀλλ' οὐ σ' ἐπάρας ψεύσομαι· δώσω δέ σοι
 κάλλιστον οἴκοις κτῆμ' Ἀχιλλέως δχον. 190
 ΔΟ. αἰνῶ· λαβὼν δ' ἂν φημι κάλλιστον Φρυγῶν
 δῶρον δέχεσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας.
 σὲ δ' οὐ φθονεῖν χρή· μυρί' ἔστιν ἄλλα σοι,
 ἐφ' οῖσι τέρψη τῆσδ' ἀριστεύων χθονός.
- ΧΟ. μέγας ἀγών, μεγάλα δ' ἐπινοεῖς ἐλεῖν· antistr. 195
 μακάριός γε μὴν κυρήσας ἔσῃ.
 πόνος δδ' εὐκλεής·
 μέγα δὲ κοιράνοισι γαμβρὸν πέλειν.
 τὰ θεόθεν ἐπιδέτω Δίκα,
 τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀνδράσιν τέλειά σοι φαίνεται. 200
- ΔΟ. στείχοιμ' ἄν· ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς δόμους ἐφέστιος
 σκευῆ πρεπόντως σῶμ' ἐμὸν καθάφοραι,
 κάκεῖθεν ἥσω ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων πόδα.
- ΧΟ. ἐπεὶ τίν' ἄλλην ἀντὶ τῆσδ' ἔξεις στολήν;
- ΔΟ. πρέπουσαν ἔργῳ κλωπικοῖς τε βήμασι. 205

191 δέ φημι. 197 πόνος δ'. 199 τὰ δὲ θεόθεν. 201 ἐλθὼν ἐς

- ΧΟ. σοφοῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς χρὴ σοφόν τι μανθάνειν·
λέξον, τίς ἔσται τοῦδε σώματος σαγή;
ΔΟ. λύκειον ἀμφὶ νῶτον ἄψομαι δορὰν
καὶ χάσμα θηρὸς ἀμφ' ἐμῷ θήσω κάρᾳ,
βάσιν τε χερσὶ προσθίαν καθαρμόσας 210
καὶ κῶλα κώλοις, τετράπουν μιμήσομαι
λύκου κέλευθον πολεμίοις δυσεύρετον,
τάφροις πελάζων καὶ νεῶν προβλήμασιν.
ὅταν δὲ ἔρημον χῶρον ἐμβαίνω ποδί,
δίβαμος εἰμι· τῇδε σύγκειται δόλος. 215
- ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εὖ σ' ὁ Μαίας παῖς ἐκεῖσε καὶ πάλιν
πέμψειεν Ἐρμῆς, ὃς γε φηλητῶν ἄναξ.
ἔχεις δὲ τούργον· εὐτυχεῖν μόνον σε δεῖ.
- ΔΟ. σωθήσομαί τε καὶ κτανὼν Ὁδυσσέως
οἴσω κάρα σοι, σύμβολον δὲ ἔχων σαφὲς 220
φήσεις Δόλωνα ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν,—
ἢ παῖδα Τυδέως· οὐδὲ ἀναιμάκτῳ χερὶ²²⁰
ἥξω πρὸς οἴκους πρὶν φάσι μολεῖν χθόνα.
- ΧΟ. Θυμβραῖε καὶ Δάλιε καὶ Λυκίας stroph.
ναὸν ἐμβατεύων 225
Ἄπολλον, ὡς δία κεφαλά, μόλε τοξήρης, ἵκοῦ
ἐννύχιος
καὶ γενοῦ σωτήριος ἀνέρι πομπᾶς
ἀγεμῶν καὶ ξύλλαβε Δαρδανίδαις,
ὡς παγκρατές, ὡς Τροῖας 230
τείχη παλαιὰ δείμας.
μόλοι δὲ ναυκλήρια, καὶ στρατιᾶς antistr.
Ἐλλάδος διόπτας

227 ἵκον. 229 sq. ἀγεμῶν σωτήριος.....καὶ γενοῦ καὶ.

ἴκοιτο, καὶ κάμψειε πάλιν θυμέλας οἴκων πατρὸς
’Ιλιάδας. 235

Φθιάδων δ' ἵππων ποτ' ἐπ' ἄντυγι βαίη
δεσπότου πέρσαντος Ἀχαιὸν Ἀρη,
τὰς πόντιος Αἰακίδα 240
Πηλεῖ δίδωσι δαίμων.

ἐπεὶ πρό τ' οἴκων πρό τε γᾶς ἔτλα μόνος stroph.
ναύσταθμα βὰς κατιδεῖν· ἄγαμαι
λήματος· ἥ σπανία 245

τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅταν ἥ
δυσάλιον ἐν πελάγει,
καὶ σαλεύῃ πόλις. ἔστι Φρυγῶν τις
ἔστιν ἄλκιμος, ἔνι δὲ θράσος 250
ἐν αἰχμᾷ· πόθι Μυσῶν δις ἐμὰν
συμμαχίαν ἀτίξει;

τίν' ἄνδρ' Ἀχαιῶν ὁ πεδοστιβῆς σφαγεὺς anti.
οὐτάσει ἐν κλισίαις, τετράπουν 255

μῖμον ἔχων ἐπὶ γᾶν
θηρός; ἔλοι Μενέλαν,
κτανὼν δ' Ἀγαμεμνόνιον
κράτ' ἐνέγκοι Ἐλένᾳ κακόγαμβρον 260
ἐσ χέρας γόνου, δις ἐπὶ πόλιν,
δις ἐπὶ γᾶν Τροῖαν χιλιόναυν
ἥλυθ' ἔχων στρατείαν.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

ἄναξ, τοιούτων δεσπόταισιν ἄγγελος
εἶην τὸ λοιπὸν οἶά σοι φέρω μαθεῖν. 265

252 ποτὶ. 256 ἐπὶ γαῖας LP: ἐπὶ γαῖᾳ Ο: ἐπὶ γαῖαν V.
263 στρατιάν.

- ΕΚ. ή πόλλ' ἀγρώταις σκαιὰ πρόσκειται φρενί·
 καὶ γὰρ σὺ ποίμνας δεσπόταις τευχεσφόροις
 ἥκειν ἔοικας ἀγγελῶν ἵν' οὐ πρέπει.
 οὐκ οἰσθα δῶμα τούμὸν ἡ θρόνους πατρός,
 οἱ χρῆν γεγωνεῖν σ' εὐτυχοῦντα ποίμνια; 270
- ΑΓΓ. σκαιοὶ βοτηρέσ ἐσμεν· οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἥσσόν σοι φέρω κεδνοὺς λόγους.
- ΕΚ. παῦσαι λέγων μοι τὰς προσαυλείους τύχας·
 μάχας πρὸ χειρῶν καὶ δόρη βαστάζομεν.
- ΑΓΓ. τοιαῦτα κάγὼ σημανῶν ἐλήλυθα. 275
 ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἀλκῆς μυρίας στρατηλατῶν
 στείχει φίλος σοὶ σύμμαχός τε τῇδε γῆ.
- ΕΚ. ποίας πατρώας γῆς ἐρημώσας πέδον;
- ΑΓΓ. Θρήκης· πατρὸς δὲ Στρυμόνος κικλήσκεται.
- ΕΚ. 'Ρῆσον τιθέντ' ἔλεξας ἐν Τροίᾳ πόδα. 280
- ΑΓΓ. ἔγνως· λόγου δὲ δὶς τόσου μ' ἐκούφισας.
- ΕΚ. καὶ πῶς πρὸς "Ιδης ὄργάδας πορεύεται,
 πλαγχθεὶς πλατείας πεδιάδος θ' ἀμαξιτοῦ;
- ΑΓΓ. οὐκ οἰδ' ἀκριβῶς· εἰκάσαι γε μὴν πάρα.
 ὅρφνη γὰρ οὕτι φαῦλον ἐμβαλεῖν στρατόν, 285
 κλύοντα πλήρη πεδία πολεμίας χερός.
 φόβον δ' ἀγρώσταις, οἱ κατ' Ιδαῖον λέπας
 οἰκεῦμεν αὐτόρριζον ἐστίαν χθονός,
 παρέσχε δρυμὸν νυκτὸς ἔνθηρον μολών.
 πολλῇ γὰρ ἡχῇ Θρήκιος ρέων στρατὸς 290
 ἔστειχε· θάμβει δ' ἐκπλαγέντες ἴεμεν
 ποίμνας πρὸς ἄκρας, μή τις Ἀργείων μόλῃ
 λεηλατήσων καὶ σὰ πορθήσων σταθμά,

πρὶν δὴ δι' ὥτων γῆρυν οὐχ Ἑλληνικὴν
ἐδεξάμεσθα καὶ μετέστημεν φόβου. 295
στείχων δ' ἄνακτος προυξερευνητὰς ὁδοῦ
ἀνιστόρησα Θρηκίοις προσφθέγμασι,
τίς ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τίνος κεκλημένος
στείχει πρὸς ἄστυ Πριαμίδαισι σύμμαχος.
καὶ πάντ' ἀκούσας ὡν ἐφιέμην μαθεῖν, 300
ἔστην· ὥρῳ δὲ Ρῆσον ὕστε δαίμονα
ἔστωτ' ἐν ἵπποις Θρηκίοις τ' ὀχήμασι.
χρυσῆ δὲ πλάστιγξ αὐχένα ζυγηφόρον
πώλων ἔκληγ χιόνος ἔξαυγεστέρων.
πέλτη δ' ἐπ' ὅμων χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις 305
ἔλαμπε· Γοργὼν δ' ὡς ἐπ' αἰγίδος θεᾶς
χαλκῆ μετώποις ἵππικοῖσι πρόσδετος
πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον.
στρατοῦ δὲ πλῆθος οὐδ' ἀν ἐν ψήφου λόγῳ
θέσθαι δύναι ἄν, ὡς ἅπλατον ἦν ἰδεῖν, 310
πολλοὶ μὲν ἵππης, πολλὰ πελταστῶν τέλη,
πολλοὶ δ' ἀτράκτων τοξόται, πολὺς δ' ὄχλος
γυμνῆς ὁμαρτῆ, Θρηκίαν ἔχων στολήν.
τοιόσδε Τροίᾳ σύμμαχος πάρεστ' ἀνήρ,
δν οὔτε φεύγων οὔθ' ὑποσταθεὶς δορὶ 315
οἱ Πηλέως παῖς ἐκφυγεῖν δυνήσεται.

ΧΟ. δταν πολίταις εὐσταθῶσι δαίμονες,
ἔρπει κατάντης ξυμφορὰ πρὸς τάγαθά.

ΕΚ. πολλούς, ἐπειδὴ τούμὸν εὐτυχεῖ δόρυ
καὶ Ζεὺς πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιν, εύρήσω φίλους. 320
ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεόμεθ', οἵτινες πάλαι
μὴ ξυμπονοῦσιν, ἡνίκ' ἔξωστης "Αρης

- ἔθρανε λαίφη τῆσδε γῆς μέγας πνέων.
 'Ρῆσος δ' ἔδειξεν οἷος ἦν Τροίᾳ φίλος·
 ἥκει γὰρ ἐς δᾶτ', οὐ παρὸν κυνηγέταις 325
 αἴρονται λείαν οὐδὲ συγκαμὼν δορί.
 ΧΟ. ὁρθῶς ἀτίζεις καὶ πίμομφος εἰ φίλοις·
 δέχου δὲ τοὺς θέλοντας ὡφελεῖν πόλιν.
 ΕΚ. ἀρκοῦμεν οἱ σῷζοντες Ἱλιον πάλαι.
 ΧΟ. πέποιθας ἥδη πολεμίους ἥρηκέναι; 330
 ΕΚ. πέποιθα· δείξει τούπιον σέλας θεοῦ.
 ΧΟ. ὄρα τὸ μέλλον· πόλλ' ἀναστρέφει θεός.
 ΕΚ. μισῶ φίλοισιν ὑστερον βοηδρομεῖν. 333
 ὃ δ' οὖν, ἐπείπερ ἥλθε, σύμμαχος μὲν οὐ 336
 ξένος δέ, πρὸς τράπεζαν ἥκέτω ξένων.
 χάρις γὰρ αὐτῷ Πριαμιδῶν διώλετο. 338
 ΧΟ. ἄναξ, ἀπωθεῖν συμμάχους ἐπίφθονον. 334
 ΑΓΓ. φόβος γένοιτ' ἀν πολεμίοις ὀφθεὶς μόνουν. 335
 ΕΚ. σύ τ' εὖ παραινεῖς καὶ σὺ καιρίως σκοπεῖς. 339
 ὁ χρυσοτευχῆς δ' οὗνεκ' ἀγγέλου λόγων 340
 'Ρῆσος παρέστω τῇδε σύμμαχος χθονί.
 ΧΟ. 'Αδράστεια μὲν ἀ Διὸς 345
 παῖς εἵργοι στομάτων φθόνον·
 φράσω γὰρ δὴ ὅσον μοι
 ψυχᾶ προσφιλές ἐστιν εἰπεῖν.
 ἥκεις, ὡ ποταμοῦ παῖ,
 ἥκεις, ἐπλάθης Φιλίου πρὸς αὐλὰν
 ἀσπαστός, ἐπεί σε χρόνῳ

334-338 are assigned to the messenger, 339-341 to the chorus
 in V and O : in L and P 334-338 to the chorus, 339-341 to Hector.
 336 ὅδ'.

Πιερὶς μάτηρ ὁ τε καλλιγέφυ-
ρος ποταμὸς πορεύει

350

Στρυμών, ὃς ποτε τᾶς μελω-
δοῦ Μούσας δί’ ἀκηράτων
δινηθεὶς ὑδροειδῆς
κόλπων σὰν ἐφύτευσεν ἥβαν.

antistr.

σύ μοι Ζεὺς ὁ φαναῖος
ἥκεις διφρεύων βαλιαισι πώλοις.
νῦν, ὡς πατρὶς ὡς Φρυγία,
ξὺν θεῷ νῦν σοι τὸν ἐλευθέριον
Ζῆνα πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν.

355

ἄρα ποτ’ αὖθις ἀ παλαιὰ Τροΐα
τοὺς προπότας παναμερεύ-
σει θιάσους ἐρώτων
ψαλμοῖσι καὶ κυλίκων οἰνοπλανή-
τοις ὑποδεξίαις ἀμίλ-
λαις κατὰ πόντον ’Ατρειδᾶν
Σπάρταν οἰχομένων ’Ιλιάδος παρ’ ἀκτᾶς;
ὡς φίλος, εἴθε μοι
σᾶς χερὶ καὶ σῷ δορὶ πρά-
ξας τάδ’ ἐς οἶκον ἔλθοις.

365

ἐλθέ, φάνηθι, τὰν ζάχρυσον προβαλοῦ ant. 370
Πηλεῖδα κατ’ ὅμμα πέλ-
ταν δοχμίαν πεδαίρων
σχιστὰν παρ’ ἄντυγα, πώλους ἐρεθί-
ζων δίβολόν τ’ ἄκοντα πάλ-
λων. σὲ γάρ οὕτις ὑποστὰς

375

363 ψάλμασι.

369 εἰς.

373 κώλοις.

’Αργείας ποτ’ ἐν "Ηρας δαπέδοις χορεύσει·
ἀλλά νιν ἄδε γâ
καπφθίμενον Θρηκὶ μόρω
φίλτατον ἄχθος οἴσει.

ἰὼ ἵώ.

μέγας ὡς βασιλεῦ, καλόν, ὡς Θρήκη,
σκύμνον ἔθρεψας πολίαρχον ἰδεῖν.
ἴδε χρυσόδετον σώματος ἀλκήν,
κλύνε καὶ κόμπους κωδωνοκρότους
παρὰ πορπάκων κελαδοῦντας.

θεός, ὡς Τροία, θεὸς αὐτὸς "Αρης
οἱ Στρυμόνιος πῶλος ἀοιδοῦ
Μούσης ἥκων καταπλεῖ σε.

380

385

ΡΗΣΟΣ.

χαῖρ', ἐσθλὸς ἐσθλοῦ παῖ, τύραννε τῆσδε γῆς,
"Εκτορ· παλαιὰ σ' ἡμέρᾳ προσεννέπω.
χαίρω δέ σ' εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ προσήμενον 390
πύργοισιν ἔχθρῶν· συγκατασκάψων δ' ἐγὼ
τείχη πάρειμι καὶ νεῶν πρήσων σκάφη.

ΕΚ. παῖ τῆς μελῳδοῦ μητέρος Μουσῶν μιᾶς
Θρηκός τε ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, φιλῶ λέγειν
τάληθὲς ἀεὶ κού διπλοῦς πέφυκ' ἀνήρ. 395
πάλαι πάλαι χρῆν τῇδε συγκάμνειν χθονὶ^ν
ἐλθόντα, καὶ μὴ τούπῃ σ' Ἀργείων ὑπο
Τροίαν ἔᾶσαι πολεμίων πεσεῖν δορί.
οὐ γάρ τι λέξεις ὡς ἄκλητος ὧν φίλοις
οὐκ ἦλθεις οὐδὲ ἥμυνας οὐδὲ ἐπεστράφης. 400

378 καταφθίμενον.

387 καταπνεῖ.

τίς γάρ σε κῆρυξ ἦ γερουσία Φρυγῶν
ἐλθοῦσ' ἀμύνειν οὐκ ἐπέσκηψεν πόλει;
ποῖον δὲ δώρων κόσμου οὐκ ἐπέμψαμεν;
σὺ δ' ἐγγενὴς ὡν βάρβαρός τε βαρβάρους
Ἐλλησιν ἡμᾶς προύπιες τὸ σὸν μέρος. 405
καίτοι σε μικρᾶς ἐκ τυραννίδος μέγαν
Θρηκῶν ἄνακτα τῇδ' ἔθηκ' ἐγὼ χερί,
ὅτ' ἀμφὶ Πάγγαιόν τε Παιόνων τε γῆν
Θρηκῶν ἀρίστοις ἐμπεσὼν κατὰ στόμα
ἔρρηξα πέλτην, σοὶ δὲ δουλώσας λεὼν 410
παρέσχον· ὡν σὺ λακτίσας πολλὴν χάριν,
φίλων νοσούντων ὕστερος βοηδρομεῖς.
οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐγγενεῖς πεφυκότες,
πάλαι παρόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωστοῖς τάφοις
κείνται πεσόντες, πίστις οὐ σμικρὰ πόλει, 415
οἱ δ' ἐν θ' ὅπλοιστι καὶ παρ' ἵππείοις ὅχοις
ψυχρὰν ἄησιν δίψιόν τε πῦρ θεοῦ
μένουσι καρτεροῦντες, οὐκ ἐν δεμνίοις
πυκνὴν ἀμυστιν ώς σὺ δεξιούμενοι.
ταῦθ', ως ἀν εἰδῆς "Εκτορ' ὄντ' ἐλεύθερον, 420
καὶ μέμφομαί σοι καὶ λέγω κατ' ὅμμα σόν.

ΡΗ. τοιοῦτός είμι καυτός, εὐθεῖαν λόγων
τέμνων κέλευθον, κού διπλοῦς πέφυκ' ἀνήρ.
ἐγὼ δὲ μεῖζον ἢ σὺ τῆσδ' ἀπών χθονὸς
λύπη πρὸς ἥπαρ δυσφορῶν ἐτειρόμην. 425
ἀλλ' ἀγχιτέρμων γαῖά μοι, Σκύθης λεώς,
μέλλοντι νόστον τὸν πρὸς Ἱλιον περᾶν
ξυνῆψε πόλεμον. Εὐξένου δ' ἀφικόμην
πόντου πρὸς ἀκτάς, Θρῆκα πορθμεύσων στρα-
τόν.

ἐνθ' αίματηρὸς πέλαινος ἐσ γαῖαν Σκύθης +30
ἡντλεῖτο λόγχῃ Θρήξ τε συμμιγὴς φόνος.
τοιάδε τοι μ' ἀπεῖργε συμφορὰ πέδουν
Τροίας ικέσθαι σύμμαχόν τέ σοι μολεῖν.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπερσα, τῶνδ' ὄμηρεύσας τέκνα, 435
τάξας ἔτειον δασμὸν ἐσ δόμους φέρειν,
ἥκω περάσας ναυσὶ πόντιον στόμα,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα πεξὸς γῆς περῶν ὄρίσματα,
οὐχ ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμύστιδας,
οὐδ' ἐν ζαχρύσοις δώμασιν κοιμώμενος,
ἄλλ' οἴα πόντον Θρήκιον φυσήματα 440
κρυσταλλόπηκτα Παίονάς τ' ἐπεξάρει,
ξὺν τοῖσδ' ἄνπνοις οἰδα τλὰς πορπάμασιν.
ἄλλ' ὕστερος μὲν ἥλθον, ἐν καιρῷ δ' ὄμως·
σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἥδη δέκατον αἰχμάζεις ἔτος
κούδεν περαίνεις, ἡμέραν δ' ἐξ ἡμέρας 445
πίπτεις κυβεύων τὸν πρὸς Ἀργείους "Αρη·
ἔμοὶ δὲ φῶς ἐν ἥλιον καταρκέσει
πέρσαντι πύργους ναυστάθμοις ἐπεσπεσεῖν
κτεῖναι τ' Ἀχαιούς· θατέρᾳ δ' ἀπ' Ἰλίου
πρὸς οἰκον εῖμι, συντεμὰν τοὺς σοὺς πόνους. 450
ὑμῶν δὲ μή τις ἀσπίδ' ἄρηται χερί·
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔξω τοὺς μέγ' αὐχοῦντας δορὶ¹
πέρσας Ἀχαιούς, καίπερ ὕστερος μολών.

XO. *i*ò *i*ó. stroph.

φίλα θροεῖς, φίλος Διόθεν εἰ· μόνον 455
φθόνον ἄμαχον ὑπατος

⁴⁴¹ ἐπεξάτει. ⁴⁴² πορπήμασιν LP: πορπάσμασιν VO.
⁴⁴³ θ' ἡτέρᾳ. ⁴⁵¹ αἱρηται V: αἱρεῖται O: αἱρέτω LP.

Ζεὺς θέλοι ἀμφὶ
σοῖς λόγοισιν εἴργειν.
τὸ δὲ νάιον Ἀργόθεν δόρυ
οὔτε πρίν τιν' οὔτε νῦν 460
ἀνδρῶν ἐπόρευσε σέθεν κρείσσω.
πῶς μοι τὸ σὸν ἔγχος Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀν δύναιτο,
πῶς δ' Αἴας ὑπομεῖναι;
εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδ' ἔτ' ἥμαρ
εἰσίδοιμ', ἄναξ, ὅτῳ πολυφόνου 465
χειρὸς ἀποινάσαιο σᾶ λόγχα.

- PH. τοιαῦτα μέν σοι τῆς μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας
πρᾶξαι παρέξω—σὺν δ' Ἀδραστείᾳ λέγω—
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀν ἐχθρῶν τήνδ' ἐλευθέραν πόλιν
θῶμεν θεοῖσι τ' ἀκροθίνι ἐξέλης, 470
ξὺν σοὶ στρατεύειν γῆν ἐπ' Ἀργείων θέλω
καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλθὼν Ἑλλάδ' ἐκπέρσαι δορί,
ώς ἀν μάθωσιν ἐν μέρει πάσχειν κακῶς.
EK. εὶ τοῦ παρόντος τοῦδ' ἀπαλλαχθεὶς κακοῦ
πόλιν νεμοίμην ώς τὸ πρίν ποτ' ἀσφαλῆ, 475
ἢ κάρτα πολλὴν θεοῖς ἀν εἰδείην χάριν.
τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ τ' Ἀργος καὶ νομὸν τὸν Ἑλλάδος
οὐχ ὡδε πορθεῖν ῥάδι', ώς λέγεις, δορί.
PH. οὐ τούσδ' ἀριστέας φασὶν Ἑλλήνων μολεῖν;
EK. κού μεμφόμεσθά γ', ἀλλ' ἄδην ἐλαύνομεν. 480
PH. οὐκοῦν κτανόντες τούσδε πᾶν εἰργάσμεθα.
EK. μή νυν τὰ πόρρω τάγγυθεν μεθεὶς σκόπει.

460 πρὶν οὔτε νῦν τιν'. 462 Ἀχιλλεὺς (so VP ἀχιλλεὺς OL)
τὸ σὸν ἔγχος. 464 τόδ' ἥμαρ. 465 ὅπως. 466 ἀποινάσαιο
λόγχα. 482 νῦν.

- PH. ἀρκεῖν ἔοικέ σοι παθεῖν, δρᾶσαι δὲ μή.
 EK. πολλῆς γὰρ ἄρχω κανθάδ' ὥν τυραννίδος.
 ἀλλ' εἴτε λαιὸν εἴτε δεξιὸν κέρας 485
 εἴτ' ἐν μέσοισι συμμάχοις πάρεστί σοι
 πέλτην ἐρεῖσαι καὶ καταστῆσαι στρατόν.
- PH. μόνος μάχεσθαι πολεμίοις, "Εκτορ, θέλω.
 εἰ δ' αἰσχρὸν ἡγῆ μὴ συνεμπρῆσαι νεῶν
 πρύμνας, πονήσας τὸν πάρος πολὺν χρόνον, 490
 τάξον μ' Ἀχιλλέως καὶ στρατοῦ κατὰ στόμα.
- EK. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐκείνῳ θοῦρον ἐντάξαι δόρυ.
- PH. καὶ μὴν λόγος γ' ἦν ώς ἐπλευσ' ἐπ' "Ιλιου.
- EK. ἐπλευσε καὶ πάρεστιν· ἀλλὰ μηνίων
 στρατηλάταισιν οὐ συναίρεται δόρυ. 495
- PH. τίς δὴ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλος εὐδοξεῖ στρατοῦ;
- EK. Αἴας ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἡσσάσθαι δοκεῖ
 χώ Τυδέως παιᾶς· ἔστι δ' αἵμυλώτατον
 κρότημ' Ὁδυσσεύς, λῆμά τ' ἀρκούντως θρασὺς
 καὶ πλεῖστα χώραν τήνδ' ἀνὴρ καθυβρίσας· 500
 δος εἰς Ἀθάργας σηκὸν ἔννυχος μολὼν
 κλέψας ἄγαλμα ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων φέρει.
 ἥδη δ' ἀγύρτης πτωχικὴν ἔχων στολὴν
 ἐσῆλθε πύργους, πολλὰ δ' Ἀργείοις κακὰ
 ἡράτο, πεμφθεὶς Ἰλίου κατάσκοπος. 505
 κτανὼν δὲ φρουροὺς καὶ παραστάτας πυλῶν
 ἐξῆλθεν· ἀεὶ δ' ἐν λόχοις εύρισκεται
 Θυμβραῖον ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἀστεως πέλας
 θάσσων· κακῷ δὲ μερμέρῳ παλαίομεν.
- PH. οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ εὔψυχος ἀξιοῖ λάθρᾳ 510
 κτεῖναι τὸν ἔχθρον, ἀλλ' ίών κατὰ στόμα.
 τοῦτον δ' ὃν ἵζειν φῆς σὺ κλωπικὰς ἔδρας

καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι, ζῶντα συλλαβὼν ἐγὼ
πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισιν ἀμπείρας ράχιν
στήσω πετεινοῖς γυψὶ θοινατήριον.

515

ληστὴν γὰρ ὅντα καὶ θεῶν ἀνάκτορα
συλῶντα δεῖ νιν τῷδε κατθαυεῖν μόρῳ.

ΕΚ. νῦν μὲν καταυλίσθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὐφρόνη.
δείξω δ' ἐγὼ σοι χῶρον, ἔνθα χρὴ στρατὸν
τὸν σὸν νυχεῦσαι τοῦ τεταγμένου δίχα. 520
ξύνθημα δ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος, ἣν τι καὶ δέῃ·
μέμνησ' ἀκούσας Θρηκί τ' ἄγγειλον στρατῷ.
νῦμᾶς δὲ βάντας χρὴ προταινὶ τάξεων
φρουρεῖν ἐγερτὶ καὶ νεῶν κατάσκοπον
δέχθαι Δόλωνα· καὶ γάρ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ σῶς, 525
ἡδη πελάζει στρατοπέδοισι Τρωικοῖς.

ΧΟ. τίνος ἀ φυλακά; τίς ἀμείβει stroph.
τὰν ἐμάν; πρῶτα
δύεται σημεῖα καὶ ἑπτάποροι
Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι· μέσα δ' αἰετὸς 530
οὐρανοῦ ποτάται.
ἐγρεσθε, τί μέλλετε; κοιτᾶν
ἔξιτε πρὸς φυλακάν.
οὐ λεύσσετε μηνάδος αἴγλαν;
ἀώς δὴ πέλας ἀώς 535
γίγνεται, καί
τις προδρόμων ὅδε γ' ἐστὶν ἀστήρ.

ΗΜ. τίς ἐκηρύχθη πρώτην φυλακήν;
ΗΜ. Μυγδόνος νιόν φασι Κόροιβον.

525 δέχεσθαι (δέχεσθε Ο). 533 ἐγρεσθε. 537 προδόμων
VO: πρὸ δόμων Ι.Π.

- HM. τίς γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ; HM. Κίλικας Παίων 540
στρατὸς ἥγειρεν, Μυσοὶ δὲ ήμᾶς.
- HM. οὐκοῦν Λυκίους πέμπτην φυλακὴν
βάντας ἐγείρειν
καιρὸς κλήρου κατὰ μοῖραν. 545
- XO. καὶ μὴν ἀτέως Σιμόεντος
ἥμένα κοίτας
φοινίας ὑμνεῖ πολυχορδοτάτᾳ
γήρυνῃ παιδολέτωρ μελοποιὸς ἀ-
ηδονὶς μέριμναν. 550
ἡδη δὲ νέμουσι κατ' Ἰδαν
ποίμνια· νυκτιβρόμουν
σύριγγος ἵαν κατακούω·
θέλγει δὲ ὅμματος ἔδραν
ὕπνος· ἄδιστ- 555
ος γὰρ ἔβα βλεφάροις πρὸς ἀοῦς.
- HM. τί ποτ' οὐ πελάθει σκοπός, δὲν ναῶν
Ἐκτωρ ὕπρυνε κατόπταν;
- HM. ταρβῶ· χρόνιος γὰρ ἄπεστιν.
- HM. ἀλλ' ἡ κρυπτὸν λόχον ἐσπαίσας 560
διόλωλε; HM. τάχ' ἄν. φοβερόν μοι.
- HM. αὐδῶ Λυκίους πέμπτην φυλακὴν
βάντας ἐγείρειν
ἥμᾶς κλήρου κατὰ μοῖραν.

550 μέριμνα (μερίμνα V). 551-630 wanting in V (see on 112).

552 νυκτιδρόμουν. 556 βλεφάροισι. 560 εἰσπαίσας Ο: εἰσπε-
σῶν LP(V). 561 Change of speaker after διόλωλε is indicated by
Murray. τάχ' ἄν εἴη φοβερόν μοι.

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ.

Διόμηδες, οὐκ ἥκουσας—ἢ κενὸς ψύφος 565
στάζει δι' ὕτων;—τευχέων τινὰ κτύπον;

ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ.

θῦκ, ἀλλὰ δεσμὰ πωλικῶν ἐξ ἀντύγων
κλάζει σιδήρου· κάμε τοι, πρὶν ἡσθόμην
δεσμῶν ἀραγμὸν ἵππικῶν, ἔδυ φόβος.

ΟΔ. ὅρα κατ' ὅρφυην μὴ φύλαξιν ἐντύχης. 570

ΔΙ. φυλάξομαι τοι κὰν σκότῳ τιθεὶς πόδα.

ΟΔ. ἦν δ' οὖν ἐγείρης, οἰσθα σύνθημα στρατοῦ;

ΔΙ. Φοῖβον Δόλωνος οἶδα σύμβολον κλύων.

ΟΔ. ἔα·

εὐνὰς ἐρήμους τάσδε πολεμίων ὄρῳ.

ΔΙ. καὶ μὴν Δόλων γε τάσδ' ἔφραξεν["]Εκτορος 575
κοίτας, ἐφ' ὁπερ ἔγχος εἴλκυσται τόδε.

ΟΔ. τί δῆτ' ἀν εἴη; μῶν λόχος βέβηκέ ποι;

ΔΙ. ἵσως ἐφ' ἡμῖν μηχανὴν στήσων τινά.

ΟΔ. θρασὺς γὰρ["]Εκτωρ νῦν, ἐπεὶ κρατεῖ, θρασύς.

ΔΙ. τί δῆτ', Οδυσσεῦ, δρῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ηὔρομεν 580
τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐν εὐναῖς, ἐλπίδων δ' ἡμάρτομεν.

ΟΔ. στείχωμεν ὡς τάχιστα ναυστάθμων πέλας.

σώζει γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅστις εὐτυχῆ θεῶν
τίθησιν· ἡμῖν δ' οὐ βιαστέον τύχην.

ΔΙ. οὐκοῦν ἐπ' Αἰνέαν ἢ τὸν ἔχθιστον Φρυγῶν 585
Πάριν μολόντε χρὴ καρατομεῖν ξίφει.

ΟΔ. πῶς οὖν ἐν ὅρφυῃ πολεμίων ἀνὰ στρατὸν
ζητῶν δυνήσῃ τούσδ' ἀκινδύνως κτανεῖν;

- ΔΙ. αἰσχρόν γε μέντοι ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν
δράσαντε μηδὲν πολεμίους νεώτερον. 590
- ΟΔ. πῶς δ' οὐ δέδρακας; οὐ κτανόντε ναυστάθμων
κατάσκοπον Δόλωνα σφύζομεν τάδε
σκυλεύματ'; ἢ πᾶν στρατόπεδον πέρσειν δοκεῖς;
- ΔΙ. πείθεις, πάλιν στείχωμεν· εὖ δ' εἴη τυχεῖν.

ΑΘΗΝΑ.

ποὶ δὴ λιπόντες Τρωικῶν ἐκ τάξεων 595
χωρεῖτε, λύπη καρδίαν δεδηγμένοι,
εἰ μὴ κτανεῖν σφῶν "Εκτορ' ἢ Πάριν θεὸς
δίδωσιν; ἄνδρα δ' οὐ πέπυσθε σύμμαχον
Τροίᾳ μολόντα 'Ρῆσον οὐ φαύλῳ τρόπῳ;
ὅς εἰ διοίσει νύκτα τήνδ' ἐσ αὔριον, 600
οὔτ' ἀν σφ' Ἀχιλλεὺς οὔτ' ἀν Αἴαντος δόρυ
μὴ πάντα πέρσαι ναύσταθμ' Ἀργείων σχέθοι,
τείχη κατασκάψαντα καὶ πυλῶν ἔσω
λόγχῃ πλατείαν ἐσδρομὴν ποιούμενον.
τοῦτον κατακτὰς πάντ' ἔχεις. τὰς δ' "Εκτορος
εὐνὰς ἔασον καὶ καρατόμους σφαγάς. 606
ἔσται γὰρ αὐτῷ θάνατος ἐξ ἄλλης χερός.

- ΟΔ. δέσποιν' Ἀθάνα, φθέγματος γὰρ ἡσθόμην
τοῦ σοῦ συνήθη γῆρυν· ἐν πόνοισι γὰρ
παροῦσ' ἀμύνεις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀεί ποτε. 610
τὸν ἄνδρα δ' ἡμῖν ποῦ κατηύνασται φράσον·
πόθεν τέτακται βαρβάρου στρατεύματος;
ΑΘ. ὅδ' ἐγγὺς ἡσται κού συνήθροισται στρατῷ,
ἄλλ' ἐκτὸς αὐτὸν τάξεων κατηύνασεν
"Εκτωρ, ἔως ἀν νὺξ ἀμείψηται φάος. 615

594 πείθου (without change of speakers). 600 τὴν.

πέλας δὲ πᾶλοι Θρηκίων ἐξ ἀρμάτων
λευκαὶ δέδενται, διαπρεπεῖς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ·
στίλβουσι δ' ὥστε ποταμίου κύκνου πτερόν.
ταύτας, κτανόντες δεσπότην, κομίζετε,
κάλλιστον οἴκοις σκῦλον· οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπου 620
τοιόνδ' ὅχημα χθὼν κέκευθε πωλικόν.

- ΟΔ. Διόμηδες, ἡ σὺ κτεῖνε Θρῆκιον λεών,
ἢ μοὶ πάρες γε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ πώλους μέλειν.
ΔΙ. ἐγὼ φονεύσω, πωλοδαμνήσεις δὲ σύ·
τρίβων γὰρ εὖ τὰ κομψὰ καὶ νοεῖν σοφός. 625
χρὴ δ' ἄνδρα τάσσειν οὖ μάλιστ' ἀν ὀφελοῖ.
ΑΘ. καὶ μὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τόνδ' Ἀλέξανδρον βλέπω
στείχοντα, φυλάκων ἔκ τινος πεπυσμένον
δόξας ἀσήμους πολεμίων μεμβλωκότων.
ΔΙ. πότερα σὺν ἄλλοις ἢ μόνος πορεύεται; 630
ΑΘ. μόνος· πρὸς εὐνὰς δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, "Ἐκτορος
χωρεῖ, κατόπτας σημανῶν ἥκειν στρατοῦ.
ΔΙ. οὐκοῦν ὑπάρχειν τόνδε κατθανόντα χρί.
ΑΘ. οὐκ ἀν δύναιο τοῦ πεπρωμένου πλέον.
τοῦτον δὲ πρὸς σῆς χειρὸς οὐ θέμις θανεῖν. 635
ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἥκεις μορσίμους φέρων σφαγάς,
τάχυν· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷδε σύμμαχος Κύπρις
δοκοῦσ' ἀρωγὸς ἐν πόνοις παραστατεῖν,
σαθροῖς λόγοισιν ἔχθρὸν ἄνδρ' ἀμείφομαι.
καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον· διν δὲ χρὴ παθεῖν, 640
οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ ἥκουσεν ἐγγὺς ὃν λόγον.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

σὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ κασίγνητον λέγω,
"Ἐκτορ, καθεύδεις; οὐκ ἐγείρεσθαι σε χρῆν;

ἐχθρῶν τις ἡμῖν χρίμπτεται στρατεύματι,
ἢ κλωπες ἄνδρες ἢ κατάσκοποί τινες. 645

ΑΘ. θάρσει· φυλάσσει σ' ἥδε πρευμενὴς Κύπρις.
μέλει δ' ὁ σός μοι πόλεμος, οὐδὲ ἀμνημονῶ
τιμῆς, ἐπαινῶ δ' εὖ παθοῦσα πρὸς σέθεν.
καὶ νῦν ἐπ' εὐτυχοῦντι Τρωικῷ στρατῷ
ἥκω πορεύουσ' ἄνδρα σοι μέγαν φίλου, 650
τῆς ὑμνοποιοῦ παῖδα Θρήκιον θεᾶς
Μούσης· πατρὸς δὲ Στρυμόνος κικλήσκεται.

ΑΛ. ἀεί ποτ' εὑ̄ φρονοῦσα τυγχάνεις πόλει
κάμοι, μέγιστον δ' ἐν βίῳ κειμήλιον
κρίνας σέ φημι τῇδε προσθέσθαι πόλει. 655
ἥκω δ' ἀκούστας οὐ τορῶς, φήμη δέ τις
φύλαξιν ἐμπέπτωκεν, ώς κατάσκοποι
ἥκουσ' Ἀχαιῶν. χῷ μὲν οὐκ ἴδων λέγει,
ὅ δ' εἰσιδὼν μολόντας οὐκ ἔχει φράσαι.
ῶν οὕνεκ' εὐνὰς ἥλυθον πρὸς Ἔκτορος. 660

ΑΘ. μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· οὐδὲν ἐν στρατῷ νέον·
"Ἐκτωρ δὲ φροῦδος Θρῆκα κοιμήσων στρατόν.

ΑΛ. σύ τοί με πείθεις, σοῖς δὲ πιστεύων λόγοις
τάξιν φυλάξων εἴμ' ἐλεύθερος φόβου.

ΑΘ. χώρει· μέλειν γὰρ πάντ' ἐμοὶ δόκει τὰ σά, 665
ῶστ' εὐτυχοῦντας συμμάχους ἐμοὺς ὄρâν.
γνώση δὲ καὶ σὺ τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν.

ὑμᾶς δ' ἀντῶ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐρρωμένους,
Λαερτίου παῖ, θηκτὰ κοιμίσαι ξίφη.
κεῖται γὰρ ἡμῖν Θρήκιος στρατηλάτης 670
ἴπποι τ' ἔχονται, πολέμιοι δ' ἡσθημένοι
χωροῦντος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὅσον τάχιστα χρὴ

φεύγειν πρὸς ὄλκοὺς ναυστάθμων. τί μέλλετε
σκηπτοῦ πιόντος πολεμίων σῶσαι βίον;

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ἢα ἔα.

βάλε βάλε βάλε βάλε,
θένε θένε· τίς ἀνήρ;
λεύσσετε, τοῦτον αὐδῶ.
κλῶπες οἴτινες κατ' ὕρφνην τόνδε κινοῦσι
στρατόν.

δεῦρο πᾶς. 680
τούσδ' ἔχω, τούσδ' ἔμαρψα.
τίς ὁ λόχος; πόθεν ἔβας; ποδαπὸς εἰ;

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ.

οὐ σε χρὴ εἰδέναι· θανῆ γὰρ σήμερον δράσας
κακῶς.

ΧΟ. οὐκ ἐρεῖς ξύνθημα, λόγχην πρὶν διὰ στέρνων
μολεῖν;

ΟΔ. ἵστω. θάρσει. ΧΟ. πέλας ἵθι. παῖε πᾶς. 685

ΟΔ. ἡ σὺ δὴ Ἄρησον κατέκτας; ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ τὸν
κτενοῦντα σέ...

ΟΔ. ἵσχε πᾶς τις. ΗΜ. οὐ μὲν οὖν. ΟΔ. ἦ, φίλιον
ἀνδρα μὴ θένης.

ΗΜ. καὶ τί δὴ τὸ σῆμα; ΟΔ. Φοῖβος. ΗΜ. ἔμα-
θον· ἵσχε πᾶς δόρυ.

680 δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς. 685 ἵστω. 686 assigned to semichorus.
ἡ σὺ δὴ. 687 μενοῦν Ο: μενῶ VLP. ἦ ἦ. The verse is assigned
to Οδ. by VL and later hand in P, to Χο. by Ο, to ἡμιχ. by P.

HM. οἰσθ' ὅποι βεβᾶσιν ἄνδρες; ΟΔ. τὴδέ πη
κατείδομεν.

ἔρπε πᾶς κατ' ἵχνος αὐτῶν. ΧΟ. ἡ βοὴν
έγερτέον; 690

HM. ἀλλὰ συμμάχους ταράσσειν δεινὸν ἐκ νυκτῶν
φόβῳ.

ΧΟ. τίς ἄνδρῶν ὁ βάσις; stroph.

τίς ὁ μέγα θρασὺς ἐπεύξεται
χέρα φυγῶν ἐμάν;
πόθεν νιν κυρήσω; 695

τίνι προσεικάσω,
ὅστις δι' ὅρφινης ἡλθ' ἀδειμάντῳ ποδὶ¹
διά τε τάξεων καὶ φυλάκων ἔδρας;

Θεσσαλὸς ἡ

παραλίαν Δοκρῶν νεμόμενος πόλιν; 700
ἡ νησιώτην σποράδα κέκτηται βίον;
τίς ἡν; πόθεν; ποίας πάτρας;
ποῖοι δ' εὔχεται τὸν ὑπατον θεῶν;

HM. ἀρ' ἔστ' Ὁδυσσέως τοῦργον ἡ τίνος τόδε;
εἰ τοῖς πάροιθεν χρὴ τεκμαίρεσθαι, τί μήν; 705

HM. δοκεῖς γάρ; HM. τί μὴν οὐ;

HM. θρασὺς γοῦν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς.

HM. τίν' ἀλκήν; τίν' αἰνεῖς; HM. Ὁδυσσῆ.

HM. μὴ κλωπὸς αἴνει φωτὸς αἰμύλον δόρυ.

ΧΟ. ἔβα καὶ πάρος antistr. 710
κατὰ πόλιν, ὑπαφρον ὅμμ' ἔχων,

689 ὅπη (η corrected from o in P). 693 θράσος. 694 χεῖρα.
702 πόθεν ἡ Ο: ἡ πόθεν ἔστιν ἡ V: γὰρ ἡ πόθεν ἔστιν ἡ LP.
703 ποῖοι εὔχεται.

ράκοδύτῳ στολὰ
πυκασθείς, ξιφήρης
κρύφιος ἐν πέπλοις.
βίον δ' ἐπαιτῶν εἵρπ' ἀγύρτης τις λάτρις, 715
ψαφαρόχρουν κάρα πολυπινές τ' ἔχων·
πολλὰ δὲ τὰν
βασιλιδ' ἑστίαν Ἀτρειδᾶν κακῶς
ἔβαζε δῆθεν ἔχθρὸς ὧν στρατηλάταις.
ὅλοιτ' ὅλοιτο πανδίκως, 720
πρὶν ἐπὶ γᾶν Φρυγῶν ποδὸς ἵχνος βαλεῖν.

HM. εἴτ' οὖν Ὁδυσσέως εἴτε μή, φόβος μ' ἔχει·
"Εκτωρ γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῖς φύλαξι μέμψεται.

HM. τί λάσκων; HM. δυσοίξων.

HM. τί δράσας; τί ταρβεῖς; 725

HM. καθ' ἡμᾶς περάσαι HM. τίν' ἀνδρῶν;

HM. οἱ τῆσδε νυκτὸς ἥλθον ἐς Φρυγῶν στρατόν.

HNIOXOS.

ἰώ, δαίμονος τύχα βαρεῖα. φεῦ φεῦ.

XO. ἕα·

σῆγα πᾶς ὕφιξ· ἵσως γὰρ ἐς βόλον τις
ἔρχεται. 730

HN. ἱὼ ἱώ,

συμφορὰ βαρεῖα Θρηκῶν. XO. συμμάχων τις
ο στένων.

714 κρυφαῖος. From this line O is wanting. 725 δρῆς VL:
δρῆς δὴ P and a corrector in L. 730 ὕφιξος εἰς V: ὕβριξ' ἵσως LP.
γὰρ εἰςβολή (corrected in L to εἰς βόλον) τις ᔁρχεται LP: εἰς βίλον
γὰρ ἵσως τις ᔁρχεται V. The MSS. have the note Χο. after πᾶς.
731 Θρηκῶν συμμάχων. HM. τίς.

- HN. ἵω ἵώ,
δύστηνος ἐγὼ σύ τ', ἄναξ Θρηκῶν·
ῳ στυγνοτάτην Τροίαν ἔσιδών,
οἵον σε βίου τέλος εἶλεν. 735
- XO. τίς εὶς ποτ' ἀνδρῶν συμμάχων; κατ' εὐφρόνην
ἀμβλωπες αὐγὰι κοῦ σε γιγνώσκω τορῶς.
- HN. ποῦ τιν' ἀνάκτων Τρῷων εὔρω;
ποῦ δῆθ' "Εκτωρ
τὸν ὑπασπίδιον κοῖτον ἰαύει; 740
τίνι σημήνω διόπων στρατιᾶς
οἴα πεπόνθαμεν, οἴα τις ἡμᾶς
δράσας ἀφανῆ φροῦδος, φανερὸν
Θρῃξιν πένθος τολυπεύσας;
- XO. κακὸν κυρεῖν τι Θρηκίῳ στρατεύματι 745
ἔοικεν, οἴα τοῦδε γιγνώσκω κλύων.
- HN. ἔρρει στρατιά, πέπτωκεν ἄναξ
δολίῳ πληγῇ.
ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ,
οἴα μ' ὁδύνη τείρει φονίου 750
τραύματος εἴσω. πῶς ἀν ὄλοίμην;
χρῆν γάρ μ' ἀκλεῶς 'Ρῆσόν τε θανεῖν,
Τροίᾳ κέλσαντ' ἐπίκουρον;
- XO. τάδ' οὐκ ἐν αἰνυγμοῖσι σημαίνει κακά·
σαφῶς γάρ αὐδᾶ συμμάχους ὀλωλότας. 755
- HN. κακῶς πέπρακται κάπι τοῖς κακοῖσι πρὸς
αἴσχιστα· καίτοι δὶς τόσον κακὸν τόδε·
θανεῖν γάρ εὐκλεῶς μέν, εἰ θανεῖν χρεών,
λυπρὸν μὲν οἷμαι τῷ θανόντι· πῶς γὰρ οῦ;

τοῖς ζῶσι δ' ὄγκος καὶ δόμων εὐδοξία. 760
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἀβούλως κάκλεῶς ὀλώλαμεν.
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ηὔναστ' Ἐκτόρεια χείρ,
 ξύνθημα λέξας, ηὔδομεν πεδοστιβεῖς,
 κόπω δαμέντες, οὐδ' ἐφρουρεῖτο στρατὸς
 φυλακαῖσι νυκτέροισιν, οὐδ' ἐν τάξεσιν 765
 ἔκειτο τεύχη, πλῆκτρά τ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ζυγοῖς
 ἵππων καθήρμοσθ', ως ἄναξ ἐπεύθετο
 κρατοῦντας ὑμᾶς κάφεδρεύοντας νεῶν
 πρύμναισι· φαύλως δ' ηὔδομεν πεπτωκότες.
 κάγῳ μελούσῃ καρδίᾳ λήξας ὕπνου 770
 πώλοισι χόρτον, προσδοκῶν ἐωθινὴν
 ζεύξειν ἐς ἀλκήν, ἀφθόνῳ μετρῷ χερί.
 λεύσσω δὲ φῶτε περιπολοῦνθ' ἡμῶν στρατὸν
 πυκνῆς δι' ὄρφνης· ως δ' ἐκινήθην ἐγώ,
 ἐπτηξάτην τε κάνεχωρεύτην πάλιν. 775
 ἥπνος δ' αὐτοῖς μὴ πελάζεσθαι στρατῷ,
 κλῶπας δοκήσας συμμάχων πλάθειν τινάς.
 οἱ δ' οὐδέν· οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐγὼ τὰ πλείονα.
 ηὔδον δ' ἀπελθὼν αὖθις ἐς κοίτην πάλιν.
 καὶ μοι καθ' ὕπνον δόξα τις παρίσταται. 780
 ἵππους γὰρ ἂς ἔθρεψα κάδιφρηλάτουν
 'Ρήσω παρεστώς, εἰδον, ως ὅναρ δοκῶν,
 λύκους ἐπεμβεβῶτας ἐδραίαν ράχιν·
 θείνοντε δ' οὐρᾶ πωλικῆς ρινοῦ τρίχα
 ἥλαυνον, αἱ δ' ἔρρεγκον ἐξ ἀντηρίδων 785
 θυμὸν πινέουσαι κάνεχαίτιζον φόβῳ.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀμύνων θῆρας ἐξεγείρομαι

762 ἐκτορέα χείρ εὔνασε V: εὔναστ' ἐκτορέα χείρ LP, but in L *ei* is written over *i*. 785 ἔρρεγκον.

πώλοισιν· ἔννυχος γὰρ ἐξώρμα φόβος.
 κλύω δ' ἐπάρας κράτα μυχθισμὸν νεκρῶν.
 θερμὸς δὲ κρουνὸς δεσπότου πάρα σφαγαῖς 790
 βάλλει με δυσθνήσκοντος αἷματος νέου.
 ὁρθὸς δ' ἀνάσσω χειρὶ σὺν κενῇ δορός.
 καὶ μ' ἔγχος αὐγάζοντα καὶ θηρώμενον
 παίει παραστὰς νεῖραν ἐς πλευρὰν ξίφει
 ἀνὴρ ἀκμάζων· φασγάνου γὰρ ἡσθόμην 795
 πληγῆς, βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα τραύματος λαβών.
 πίπτω δὲ πρηνής· οἱ δ' ὅχημα πωλικὸν
 λαβόντες ἵππων ἴεσαν φυγῇ πόδα.
 ἀ ἀ.

δδύνη με τείρει, κούκέτ' ὁρθοῦμαι τάλας.
 καὶ ξυμφορὰν μὲν οἰδ' ὄρῶν, τρόπῳ δ' ὅτῳ 800
 τεθνᾶσιν οἱ θανόντες οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι,
 οὐδ' ἔξ ὁποίας χειρός. εἰκάσαι δέ μοι
 πάρεστι λυπρὰ πρὸς φίλων πεπονθέναι.

XO. ήνιοχε Θρηκὸς τοῦ κακῶς πεπραγότος,
 μηδὲν δυσοίζου· πολέμιοι "δρασαν τάδε. 805
 "Εκτωρ δὲ καντὸς συμφορᾶς πεπυσμένος
 χωρεῖ· συναλγεῖ δ', ὡς ἕοικε, σοῖς κακοῖς.

ΕΚΤΩΡ.

πῶς, ω̄ μέγιστα πήματ' ἐξειργασμένοι,
 μολόντες ὑμᾶς πολεμίων κατάσκοποι
 λήθουσιν αἰσχρῶς, καὶ κατεσφάγη στρατός, 810
 κοῦτ' εἰσιόντας στρατόπεδ' ἐξαπώσατε

790 παρὰ. 792-811 are wanting in V. 794 νείαιραν
 (V) L: νειέραν P. πλευρὰν (V): πλευροῦ LP. 805 πολεμίοις
 δρᾶσαι.

οὔτ' ἐξιόντας; τῶνδε τίς τείσει δίκην
πλὴν σοῦ; σὲ γὰρ δὴ φύλακά φημ' εἶναι
στρατοῦ.

φροῦδοι δ' ἄπληκτοι, τῇ Φρυγῶν κακανδρίᾳ
πόλλα' ἐγγελῶντες τῷ στρατηλάτῃ τ' ἐμοί. 815
εὖ νυν τόδ' ἵστε, Ζεὺς ὁμώμοσται πατήρ·
ἥτοι μάραγνά γ' ἡ καρανιστῆς μόρος
μένει σε δρῶντα τοιάδ', ἡ τὸν "Ἐκτόρα
τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι καὶ κακὸν νομίζετε.

ΧΟ. ιὼ ιώ,

antistr. 820

μέγα σύ μοι, μέγ', ὡς πολίοχον κράτος,
τότ' ἀρ' ἐμολον, ὅτε σοι
ἄγγελος ἥλθον,

ἀμφὶ ναῦς πύρ' αἴθειν,
ἐπεὶ ἄγρυπνον ὅμμ' ἐν εὐφρόνῃ 825
οὕτ' ἐκοίμισ' οὕτ' ἔβριξ,
οὐ τὰς Σιμοεντιάδας πηγάς·

μή μοι κύτον, ὡς ἄνα, θῆσ· ἀναίτιος γὰρ
† ἔγωγε πάντων. †

εἰ δὲ χρόνῳ παράκαιρον 830
ἔργον ἡ λόγον πύθη, κατά με γᾶς
ζῶντα πόρευσον· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.

HN. τί τοῖσδ' ἀπειλεῖς βάρβαρός τε βαρβάρου
γνώμην ὑφαιρῇ τὴν ἐμήν, πλέκων λόγους;
σὺ ταῦτ' ἔδρασας· οὐδέν' ἀν δεξαίμεθα 835

821 μέγας ἐμοὶ (μοι P. μοι with an erasure before μ, L): μέγας
πολιοῦχον. 824 ναῦσι πυραΐθειν Ἀργείων στρατόν (but στρατόν is
erased in L, omitted in P). 827 οὐ μὰ τὰς σιμοεντίδας.

830 παρὰ καιρὸν.

οὕθ' οἱ θανόντες οὗτ' ἀν οἱ τετρωμένοι
ἄλλον· μακροῦ γε δεῖ σε καὶ σοφοῦ λόγου,
ὅτῳ με πείσεις μὴ φίλους κατακτανεῖν,
ἴππων ἐρασθείς, ὃν ἔκατι συμμάχους
τοὺς σὸν φονεύεις, πόλλα' ἐπισκήπτων μο-
λεῖν.

840

ἢλθον, τεθνᾶσιν· εὐπρεπέστερον Πάρις
ξενίαν κατήσχυν· ἢ σὺ συμμάχους κτανών.
μὴ γάρ τι λέξης ὡς τις Ἀργείων μολὼν
διώλεσ' ήμᾶς· τίς δ' ὑπερβαλὼν λόχους
Τρώων ἐφ' ήμᾶς ἢλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λαθεῖν; 845
σὺ πρόσθειν ήμῶν ἥσο καὶ Φρυγῶν στρατός.
τίς οὖν τέτρωται, τίς τέθνηκε συμμάχων
τῶν σῶν, μολόντων ὡν σὺ πολεμίων λέγεις;
ήμειν δ' ἔκατις τετρώμεθ', οὐδὲ μειζόνως
παθόντες οὐχ ὄρωσιν ήλίου φάος. 850

ἀπλῶς δ' Ἀχαιῶν οὐδέν' αἰτιώμεθα.
τίς δ' ἀν χαμεύνας πολεμίων κατ' εὐφρόνην
‘Ρήσου μολὼν ἐξηῆρεν, εἰ μή τις θεῶν
ἔφραζε τοῖς κτανοῦσιν; οὐδ' ἀφιγμένον
τὸ πάμπαν ἥσαν· ἀλλὰ μηχανᾶ τάδε. 855

ΕΚ. χρόνον μὲν ἥδη συμμάχοισι χρώμεθα
ὅσουνπερ ἐν γῇ τῇδ' Ἀχαιικὸς λεώς,
κούδεν πρὸς αὐτῶν οἰδα πλημμελὲς κλύων·
ἐν σοὶ δ' ἀν ἀρχοίμεσθα. μή μ' ἔρως ἔλοι
τοιοῦτος ίππων ὥστ' ἀποκτείνειν φίλους. 860
καὶ ταῦτ' Ὁδυσσεύς· τίς γάρ ἄλλος ἀν ποτε
ἔδρασεν ἢ βούλευσεν Ἀργείων ἀνήρ;

848 ὡς.

849 δὲ καὶ.

852 αὐ.

δέδοικα δ' αὐτὸν καί τί μου θράσσει φρένας,
μὴ καὶ Δόλωνα συντυχὼν κατακτάνη.

χρόνον γὰρ ἥδη φροῦδος ὃν οὐ φαίνεται. 865

HN. οὐκ οἶδα τοὺς σοὺς οὓς λέγεις Ὁδυσσέας·
ἡμεῖς δ' ὑπ' ἔχθρῶν οὐδενὸς πεπλήγμεθα.

EK. σὺ δ' οὖν νόμιζε ταῦτ', ἐπείπερ σοι δοκεῖ.

HN. ὡς γαῖα πατρίς, πῶς ἀν ἐνθάνοιμί σοι;

EK. μὴ θυῆσχ· ἄλις γὰρ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὅχλος. 870

HN. ποῦ δὴ τράπωμαι δεσποτῶν μονούμενος;

EK. οἰκός σε κεύθων ούμοδις ἔξιάσται.

HN. καὶ πῶς με κηδεύσουσιν αὐθεντῶν χέρες;

EK. δᾶς αὖ τὸν αὐτὸν μῦθον οὐ λήξει λέγων.

HN. ὅλοιθ' ὁ δράσας. οὐ γὰρ ἐς σὲ τείνεται 875
γλῶσσ', ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς· ή Δίκη δ' ἐπίσταται.

EK. λάξυσθ'. ἄγοντες δ' αὐτὸν ἐς δόμους ἐμούς,
οὕτως ὅπως ἀν μὴ γκαλῆ πορσύνετε.
ὑμᾶς δ' ἰόντας τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει χρεὼν
Πριάμῳ τε καὶ γέρουσι σημῆναι νεκροὺς 880
θάπτειν κελεύθου λεωφόρου πρὸς ἐκτροπάς.

XO. τί ποτ' εὐτυχίας ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης
Τροίαν ἀνάγει πάλιν ἐς πένθη
δαιμῶν ἄλλος, τί φυτεύων;
ἢα ἢα. ὡς ὡς.

885

τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θεός, ὡς βασιλεῦ,
τὸν νεόκμητον νεκρὸν ἐν χειροῖν
φοράδην πέμπει;
ταρβῶ, λεύσσων τόδε, πῆμα.

871 ποῦ δὲ. 875 εἰς. 877 ἄγοντες αὐτὸν. 881 κελεύειν.
λαοφόρου LP: λαυφόρους V. 884 ἄλλο τι LP: ἄλλοτε V.
887 χεροῖν.

ΜΟΥΣΑ.

όρâν πάρεστι, Τρῶες· ἡ γὰρ ἐν σοφοῖς 890
τιμᾶς ἔχουσα Μοῦσα συγγόνων μία
πάρειμι, πᾶσα τὸνδ' ὄρῶσ' οἰκτρῶς φίλον
θανόνθ' ὑπ' ἔχθρων· ὅν ποθ' ὁ κτείνας χρόνῳ
δόλιος Ὁδυσσεὺς ἀξίαν τείσει δίκην.

ἰαλέμῳ αὐθιγενεῖ, stroph. 895
τέκνου, σ' ὀλοφύρομαι, ὥ
ματρὸς ἄλγος, οἴαν
ἔκελσας ὄδὸν ποτὶ Τροίαν.
ἢ δυσδαίμονα καὶ μελέαν,
ἀπομεμφομένας ἐμοῦ πορευθείς, 900
ἀπὸ δ' ἀντομένου πατρὸς Βιαιώς.
ῷμοι ἐγὼ σέθεν, ὥ φιλία
φιλία κεφαλά, τέκνου, ὥμοι.

ΧΟ. ὅσον προσήκει μὴ γένους κουιωνίαν
ἔχοντι λύπη τὸν σὸν οἰκτίρω γόνον. 905

ΜΟΤ. ὄλοιτο μὲν Οἰνεῖδας, antistr.
ὄλοιτο δὲ Λαρτιάδας,
ὅς μ' ἄπαιδα γέννας
ἔθηκεν ἀριστοτόκοιο.
ἄ θ' "Ελλανα λιποῦσα δόμον 910
Φρυγίων λεχέων ἔπλευσε πλαθεῖσ'
ὑπου ὥλεσε μὲν σ' ἔκατι Τροίας,
φίλτατε, μυριάδας τε πόλεις

907 Λαρτιάδης V: Λαρτίδας L.P. 909 ἀριστοτόκου.
910 Ἐλένα. 912 ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ ὥλεσε μὲν σὲ κατὰ Τροίας (Τροίαν P).

ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκέιωσεν.

ἡ πολλὰ μὲν ζῶν, πολλὰ δ' εἰς "Αἰδου
μολών, 915

Φιλάμμυνος παῖ, τῆς ἐμῆς ἥψω φρενός·

ὑβρις γάρ, ἡ σ' ἔσφηλε, καὶ Μουσῶν ἔρις
τεκεῦν μ' ἔθηκε τόνδε δύστηνον γόνον.

περῶσα γὰρ δὴ ποταμίους διὰ ροᾶς
λέκτροις ἐπλάθην Στρυμόνος φυταλμίοις, 920
ὅτ' ἥλθομεν γῆς χρυσόβωλον ἐς λέπας

Πάγγαιον ὄργανοισιν ἐξησκημέναι

Μοῦσαι μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελῳδίας

κείνῳ σοφιστῆ Θρηκί, κάτυφλώσαμεν

Θάμυριν, ὃς ἡμῶν πόλλ' ἐδέννασεν τέχνην.

κάπει σὲ τίκτω, συγγόνους αἰδουμένη 926
καὶ παρθενείαν ἥκ' ἐς εὐնόδου πατρὸς
δίνας· τρέφειν δέ σ' οὐ βρότειον ἐς χέρα

Στρυμῶν δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ πηγαίας κόραις.
ἴνθ' ἐκτραφεὶς κάλλιστα παρθένων ὅπο, 930

Θρήκης ἀνάσσων πρῶτος ἥσθ' ἀνδρῶν, τέκνον.

καὶ σ' ἀμφὶ γῆν μὲν πατρίαν φιλαιμάτους
ἀλκὰς κορύσσοντ' οὐκ ἐδείμαινον θανεῦν.

Τροίας δ' ἀπηύδων ἄστυ μὴ κέλσαι ποτέ,
εἰδυῖα τὸν σὸν πότμον· ἀλλά σ' "Εκτορος 935
πρεσβεύμαθ' αἴ τε μυρίαι γερουσίαι

ἐπεισαν ἐλθεῖν κάπικουρῆσαι φίλοις.

καὶ τοῦδ', Ἀθάνα, παντὸς αἰτία μόρου,

(οὐδὲν δ' Ὁδυσσεὺς οὐδ' ὁ Τυδέως τόκος
ἔδρασε δράσας) μὴ δόκει λεληθέναι. 940

919 διαρροὰς. 928 βροτείαν. 940 V is wanting after this
verse. (V) is cited as before (v. on 112).

καίτοι πόλιν σὴν σύγγονοι πρεσβεύομεν
 Μοῦσαι μάλιστα κάπιχρώμεθα χθονί,
 μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς
 ἔδειξεν Ὁρφεύς, αὐτανέψιος νεκροῦ
 τοῦδ' ὃν κατακτείνεις σύ· Μουσαῖόν τε, σὸν 945
 σεμνὸν πολίτην κάπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνδρ' ἔνα
 ἐλθόντα, Φοῖβος σύγγονοί τ' ἡσκήσαμεν.
 καὶ τῶνδε μισθὸν παῖδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
 θρηνῶ· σοφιστὴν δ' ἄλλον οὐκ ἐπάξομαι.

ΧΟ. μάτην ἄρ' ἡμᾶς Θρήκιος τροχηλάτης 950
 ἐδέννασ', "Εκτορ, τῷδε βουλεῦσαι φόνον.

ΕΚ. ἥδη τάδ· οὐδὲν μάντεων ἔδει φράσαι
 'Οδυσσέως τέχναισι τόνδ' ὀλωλότα.
 ἐγὼ δὲ γῆς ἔφεδρον 'Ελλήνων στρατὸν
 λεύσσων, τί μὴν ἔμελλον οὐ πέμψειν φίλοις 955
 κήρυκας, ἐλθεῖν κάπικουρῆσαι χθονί;
 ἔπειμψ· ὁφείλων δ' ἥλθε συμπονεῖν ἐμοί.
 οὐ μὴν θανόντι γ' οὐδαμῶς συνήδομαι.
 καὶ νῦν ἔτοιμος τῷδε καὶ τεῦξαι τάφον
 καὶ ξυμπυρῶσαι μυρίων πέπλων χλιδήν· 960
 φίλος γὰρ ἐλθὼν δυστυχῶς ἀπέρχεται.

ΜΟΤ. οὐκ εἶσι γαίας ἐς μελάγχιμον πέδον·
 τοσόνδε Νύμφην τὴν ἔνερθ' αἰτήσομαι,
 τῆς καρποποιοῦ παῖδα Δήμητρος θεᾶς,
 ψυχὴν ἀνεῖναι τοῦδ· ὁφειλέτις δέ μοι 965
 τοὺς Ὁρφέως τιμῶσα φαίνεσθαι φίλους.
 κάμοι μὲν ὡς θανῶν τε κού λεύσσων φάος
 ἔσται τὸ λοιπόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐς ταῦτόν ποτε

945 τοῦδ' οὖν κατακτείνασσα (V): τοῦδ' οὐνεκα κτείνασσα LP.
 950 στρατηλάτης.

οὔτ' εἰσιν οὕτε μητρὸς ὄψεται δέμας,
κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος, 971
Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν
ῳκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός.

ρᾶον δὲ πένθος τῆς θαλασσίας θεοῦ
οἶσω· θανεῦν γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐκ κείνης χρεών. 975
θρήνοις δ' ἀδελφαὶ πρῶτα μὲν σ' ὑμνήσομεν,
ἔπειτ' Ἀχιλλέα Θέτιδος ἐν πένθει ποτέ.

οὐ ρύσεται νιν Παλλάς, ἢ σ' ἀπέκτανεν·
τοῖον φαρέτρα Λοξίου σώζει βέλος.

ῳ παιδοποιὸι συμφοραί, πόνοι βροτῶν· 980
ώς ὅστις ὑμᾶς μὴ κακῶς λογίζεται,
ἄπαις διοίσει κού τεκὼν θάψει τέκνα.

ΧΟ. οὗτος μὲν ἥδη μητρὶ κηδεύειν μέλει·
σὺ δ' εἴ τι πράσσειν τῶν προκειμένων θέλεις,
Ἐκτορ, πάρεστι· φῶς γὰρ ήμέρας τόδε. 985

ΕΚ. χωρεῖτε, συμμάχους δ' ὀπλίζεσθαι τάχος
ἄνωχθε πληροῦν τ' αὐχένας ξυνωρίδων.
πανοὺς δ' ἔχοντας χρὴ μένειν Τυρσηικῆς
σάλπιγγος αὐδῆν· ώς ὑπερβαλλὼν τάφρον
τείχη τ' Ἀχαιῶν ναυσὶν αἴθον ἐμβαλεῖν 990
πέποιθα Τρωσί θ' ήμέραν ἐλευθέραν
ἀκτῦνα τὴν στείχουσαν ήλίου φέρειν.

ΧΟ. πείθου βασιλεῖ· στείχωμεν ὅπλοις
κοσμησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ
τάδε φράξωμεν· τάχα δ' ἀν νίκην 995
δοίη δαιμῶν ὁ μεθ' ήμῶν.

970 τῆσδ'. 974 βαιὸν. 988 πόνον. 989 ὑπερβάλλων.

995 νίκαν.

NOTES

[Σ=Scholia to the *Rhesus.*.]

1-6. ‘Come to Hector’s sleeping-quarters. Which of the king’s squires or men-at-arms is awake? Let him receive from the young men their tale of tidings, who for the fourth watch of the night are set to guard the whole army! ’

I have retained in these lines the readings of the MSS. Modern editors (except Murray), objecting to the ambiguity of *v. 4*, δέξαιτο νέων κληδόνα μύθων, have emended the text so as to enable νέων to be taken with μύθων and provide another antecedent for οὗ. But in the acting of the play the ambiguity would not appear if the speaker paused slightly after νέων, and κληδόνα μύθων is a perfectly correct expression. βᾶθι is spoken by the leader to the chorus. βᾶθι ἀντὶ τοῦ βῶμεν, Σ.

Wecklein adopts the reading τις for τίς. The sentence then becomes a request for one of the ὑπασπισταί to approach Hector’s sleeping-place. νέων is taken with μύθων, and τευχοφόρων becomes antecedent to οὗ.....προκάθηνται. But the sense is not very attractive. ‘Go, some wakeful member of the body-guard, to the quarters of Hector, or let him receive...’

Vater, Dindorf, and Paley read τίς in *v. 2*, and adopt εἰ for ᾧ in *v. 3*, following the edition of 1544. But βᾶθι...εἰ δέξαιτο κληδόνα is an expression to which it would be hard to find a parallel; moreover, it is unnatural that one of the ὑπασπισταί should be asked ‘to go to the quarters of Hector.’ He would be there already.

Finally, Nauck reads τίς in *v. 2*, retains the ᾧ of the MSS. in *v. 3*, and transposes *v. 4* after *v. 9*, emending δέξαιτο to δέξαι τε. Then ὑπασπιστῶν and τευχοφόρων alike refer to the members of the

chorus who are on guard at the opening of the play (*v.* 538 ff.). This renders the distinction meaningless and *ἄγρυπνος* loses its point.

2. **ὑπασπιστής**. ὁ σύνεγγυς τοῦ βασιλέως παρασπίζων. **τευχόφρος**. ὁ πλιτης, Σ.

5. **τετράμοιρον** (only found here) should properly mean ‘four-fold’ but is used =*τετάρτην*. (So Σ.) Similarly we might speak of ‘watch, section 4.’ This use of the word is unexampled but Vater cf. *τετράς* ‘the fourth day of the month.’ In Homer the night is divided into three parts (*Il.* x. 253, *Od.* xiv. 483) but in this play five night-watches are mentioned (558ff.). The present watch to which the chorus of Trojans has been appointed is the fourth. Σ. remarks that Euripides followed Stesichorus in reckoning five watches.

τετρ. φυλακήν, temporal accusative.

6. After *πάσης στρατίας* L and P read *πόλεως Τροίας*. Perhaps a conflation of two readings has taken place. If so, the reading *πόλεως Τροίας* is less good, for the Trojan forces are now at some distance from the city, near the ships of the Greeks.

7. **πῆχυν ἐρείσας**, ‘planting the fore-arm,’ i.e. leaning on the elbow. For the use of *ἐρείδω* cf. 487 *πέλτην ἐρεῖσαι*. The present passage is imitated from *Il.* x. 80 *ὅρθωθεις δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, κεφαλὴν ἐπαείρας*.

8. **βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἔδραν**, a periphrasis for *βλέφαρα γοργωπά*, cf. 554 *ὅμματος ἔδραν θέλγει ὑπνος*. F. W. Newman suggests as the source of the present description *Il.* viii. 349 “Ἐκτῷρο ... Γοργοῦς ὅμματ' ἔχων. For the periphrasis cf. Shakspere, *Tempest*, I. 2. 408 ‘The fringed curtains of thine eye advance.’”

12. **σῆμα** in the sense of ‘watchword’ only here and in *v.* 688. The usual word *σύνθημα* is found in 572, 684; *σύμβολον* occurs in the same sense, 573.

13. **ἐκ νυκτῶν**, ‘in the night-watches.’ The phrase recurs *vv.* 17 and 691, also Aesch. *Cho.* 287, Theognis 460, cf. too *ἔξημέρας* Soph. *EI.* 780, *ἐκ μεσημβρίης* Archil. 74. 3 (*at mid-day*).

14. **κοίτας πλάθουσ**'. For *πλάθω*, a poetical form of *πελάξω*, with acc. of goal of motion, cf. (with Morstadt) *Andr.* 1167 *δῶμα πελάξει*. The omission of the preposition after verbs of motion is a favourite construction of Euripides, cf. in this play *μολεῦν χθόνα* (223),

μόλοι ναυκλήρια (233), Σπάρταν οἰχομένων Ἀτρειδᾶν (365), ικέσθαι πέδον Τροίας (433), even κέλσαι ἄστυ (934).

15. τί φέρη θορύβῳ, ‘why this haste and confusion?’ Cf. v. 45. θορύβῳ in each case is modal dat.

17. λόχος, ‘a surprise party,’ as in *Il.* viii. 522 μὴ λόχος εἰσέλθησι πόλιν λαῶν ἀπεόντων. With λόχος sc. πλάθει.

After *νυκτῶν* the MSS. add οὐκέτι (VO Haun.) or οὐκ ἔστι (LP). The metre shows that something has crept into the text. Paley omits θαρσῷ (v. 16) as having been inserted to answer θάρσει (but for a similar exhortation followed by asseveration cf. *Iph. Aul.* 1-5). He retains οὐκ ἔστι omitting σύ. I have preferred, with Wecklein and Murray, to retain θαρσῷ and σύ and omit οὐκ ἔστι. The words may have been inserted to provide an answer to Hector’s question. Dr Murray even hazards the suggestion that they are ‘quasi παρεπιγραφή’ (*stage-direction*). The chorus would shake their heads in answer to Hector’s question.

σύ. Paley remarks, “The σύ in τί σὺ γάρ... is bad Greek; the Greeks do not use the nominative of the personal pronoun unless emphasis is conveyed.” But the emphasis may be laid on the whole clause and not on the pronoun alone. The use of σύ here implies impatience and irritation, just as in the phrase τί λέγεις σύ; Ar. *Nub.* 207, ‘what’s that you say, sir?’ it adds a touch of insolence.

γάρ. R. Shilleto on Thuc. I. 25. 4 argues that γάρ was not originally a causal particle. “Its usage in replies, δῆλον γάρ, οὐ γάρ etc. in interrogations (as in Latin quisnam, nam quis) in ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἀλλὰ...γάρ, after parenthesis, all such usages seem to indicate that it originally meant *truly, verily*.” This explanation accords with the derivation of γάρ (γε ἄρα), and avoids the necessity, in such cases as those mentioned, of assuming an ellipse. The Greeks of course did not consciously distinguish γάρ as a causal particle and as a particle of emphasis, but the former was developed insensibly from the latter. In the present passage there is no immediate causal connection between the question τί σὺ γάρ... and the preceding statement. We may therefore regard γάρ here as a particle of emphasis and translate ‘*why pray then do you...?*’ Similar cases occur vv. 78, 133, 540, 706 (questions), 106 (ἀλλὰ γάρ), 484 (reply), 608 (after an apostrophe), 762 (after a parenthetical statement).

19. νυκτηγορίαν, ‘news of the night.’ In 89 νυκτηγοροῦσι=

'make a night report.' *μυκτηγορεῖσθαι*, Aesch. *Theb.* 29, probably means 'to be discussed at a night council.'

23. **συμμάχων.** Hermann's emendation is required alike by the rhythm and by the sense; without it *εὐνάσ* is meaningless.

28. **Πανθοῖδαν,** Polydamas is so described (*Il.* XVI. 535) and Euphorbus (*Il.* XVII. 81).

29. **τὸν Εύρώπας,** Sarpedon. According to Σ, Hesiod and Hellanicus likewise call him son of Europe, though Homer (*Il.* VI. 198) makes him son of Zeus and Laodamia.

31. **γυμνήτων μόναρχοι** is a strange phrase, but the allies, who formed a large part of the Trojan host, consisted of many petty tribes variously armed, each with its king. We have *Πελασγῶν ἐγχειμώρων* (*Il.* II. 840), *Παιονας ἀγκυλοτόξους* (848) and in 846 Euphemus is *ἀρχὸς Κικόνων αἰχμητῶν*. Musgrave's *μόραρχοι* is not found elsewhere and *μόρα* occurs only as a division of the Spartan army.

33. **κερόδετος**, ἄπ. εἰρ. Cf. with Albert *χρυσόδετος* Soph. *EI.* 837.

35. **τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ**, adverbial, 'on the one hand...on the other.'

36. **ἄλλ' ἡ**, can it be then? Lat. *ergo*, cf. v. 560.

Κρονίου Πανός, for sudden terror ('panic') attributed to Pan, cf. *Med.* 1172 *Πανὸς ὀργάς*, *Hipp.* 142. The epithet *Κρονίου* puzzled the ancient commentators, Pan being generally described as son of Hermes or Zeus. Of explanations given by Σ the most plausible is that the epithet is applied *παππωνυμικῶς* (from the grandfather). So Diomedes is called *Oινείδας* (v. 906), and Achilles frequently Aeacides.

37. **φυλακὰς...στρατιάν** is deleted by Dobree and most editors as an interpolation from v. 18. The repetition may well be genuine; the abandonment of their posts by the sentinels is prominent in Hector's mind.

41. **πύρ' αἴθει.** Hartung VLP have *πυραΐθει* here and *πυραΐθειν* in vv. 78 and 824. Such a compound would be contrary to analogy. (See on *δυσθνήσκοντος*, 791 *infra.*) **πυρά**, *watchfires*.

43. **διειπετῆ**, 'bright.' Paley quotes a corrupt fragment of the *Phoenix* (Nauck, 815) which as emended by Valckenaer reads *δυωσὶν δ'* ἐμοῖσιν εἴπον ως καυστήρια | ἐσ πῦρ ἔδει καὶ <ταῦτα> δὴ διειπετῆ | θεῖναι. Cf. also *Bacchae* 1267 (*αἴθηρ*) *λαμπρότερος* ἢ πρὶν καὶ διειπετέστερος, where *Etym. Mag.* explains the word 'ἀντὶ τοῦ διαν-

γέστερος.' In Homer it is used of rivers only (*Il. XVI.* 174; XVII. 263; XXI. 268, 326; *Od.* IV. 477). Schulze (*Quaest. Epicae*, p. 328) explains the Homeric use as 'Iovis opera et iussu decurrentes.' In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 4, *οἰωνοὺς διεπετέας*, the word is apparently connected with *πέτομαι* (Sikes and Allen. tr. 'flying in the heaven'). For Eur. the spelling *διεπετής* is probably more correct, for *Διειπεφής* is found in inscriptions of the period (Meisterhans, *Gramm. Att. Inschr.* p. 50).

46, 47. *νέαν ἐφιέμενοι βάξιν.* For *ἐφιέμενοι*, 'eager for,' with acc. instead of the usual genitive, cf. Xen. *Ag.* II. 14 *οὐκ ἀπεῖπε μεγάλην καὶ καλὴν ἐφιέμενος δόξαν*. Favorinus (floruit A.D. 75) has a note, *ἐφίεμαι· τὸ ἐπιθυμῶ· ἀττικῶς αἰτιατικῆ*. (*O.T.* 766 *πρὸς τὶ τοῦτ' ἐφίεσαι*; which Paley quotes, means 'why dost thou impose this command?' a very frequent use with the quasi-cognate neuter pronoun.)

βάξις (1) oracular response (2) rumour (L. and S.). Perhaps the pronouncement of the general is comparable to an oracle. But in Soph. *El.* 638, *κεκρυμμένην μοῦ βάξιν*, it merely signifies 'speech' and so in *Med.* 1374 *πικρὰν βάξιν ἔχθαιρω σέθεν*.

51. Corrected by Lindemann: cf. v. 33.

52. **ἥκεις**, the reading of Cod. Pan. (where the other mss. have *ἥλθες*) is confirmed by *Chr. Pat.* 1870, 2299, 2390.

54. **ἀρεῖσθαι**, Wecklein (see *crit. note*). **φυγήν**, Stephanus for mss. *φυγῆ* here and 126; cf. *αἴρονται φυγήν* Aesch. *Persae* 481, and the numerous examples collected by Elmsley on *Heracl.* 504, which show that the accusative is the correct use with *αἴρεσθαι*.

55. **σαίνει**, 'the nocturnal beacon greets me,' cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1214 *παιῶδες με σαίνει φθόγγος.* *σαίνω* is properly used of a dog wagging the tail or fawning. "So it could be said of a sight or sound appealing for recognition by vividly striking the senses. Though usually like *arridere* implying a sensation of pleasure it could also denote a recognition attended by pain." Jebb *ad loc.* who quotes also Eur. *Hipp.* 862 f. (Theseus recognises the seal on his wife's tablets), *τύποι προσσαίνοντο με*. In the present passage pain is likewise implied. Hector has risen from his bed and beholds the fires blazing in the camp of the foe. The sight confirms him in the hastily formed opinion that victory is slipping from his grasp.

57 ff. For the sentiment Hagenbach cf. *Il.* VIII. 497 ff.

58. **σύρδην**, ‘in one swoop’ (Paley), adv. from **σύρω**. In Aesch. *Pers.* 54 it is used of an army advancing ‘in loose order,’ *tractim*. Here its meaning refers to another sense of **σύρω** (cf. **κατασύρω**, **diripio**). Hector was a **λέων**.

59. **ξυνέσχον**, ‘if the bright beams of the sun had not constrained me,’ i.e. by their setting, a strange expression. This use of **συνέχω** is an extension of the sense of actual constraint which we find e.g. in Pindar *Pyth.* 1. 19 (of Typho) **κίων οὐρανία συνέχει**. A similar sense is conveyed in the following line by the simple **ἔσχον** (cf. *El.* 852). It is possible, however, that **ξυνέσχον** has arisen by an error of the copyist and that we should read **ξέλειπον** with Wecklein; for such an error cf. 776 where V reads **πλάθειν στρατῷ** for **πελάζεσθαι στρατῷ**, owing to the presence of **πλάθειν** in the following line.

65. **σοφοί**, ‘skilled’: used of *experts* particularly in the science of augury, *Bacch.* 185 (Cadmus to Teiresias) **ἔξηγοῦ σύ μοι, σὺ γὰρ σοφός**. *Med.* 686 **σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ τρίβων τὰ τοιάδε**. In the present case the experts are anything but ‘wise.’

68. **θυοσκόοι** (*θύο-σκοός*, cf. **κοέω**, Lat. *caveo*, English *show*) are here identified with **μάντεις** as in *Il.* XXIV. 221 **ἢ οἱ μάντεις εἰσι θυοσκόοι ἢ ιερῆς**. The word is applied to the Maenads in *Bacch.* 224.

72. **ώς ἄν**. In *Class. Rev.* XXIV. p. 143, Prof. Dobson has classified the uses of **ώς ἄν** and **ὅπως ἄν** in the Tragedians. His conclusion is: “their proper use is to express *a purpose of the speaker*, which is capable of fulfilment in the future.” The idiom recurs in the *Rhesus* vv. 420, 473, 878.

τις, ‘many a one,’ as often in Homer: cf. also *Hec.* 650.

αὐτῶν refers back to **οἱ δ'**, v. 68.

74. **λελημένοι** (O Pan.). This form, not **εἰλημμένοι**, is usually found in Tragedy. Paley calls it an *Ionic* form, but the true Ionic form is **λελαυμένος** (Herod. and Hippocr.). VLP have the meaningless **λελησμένοι** from **ληίζομαι**.

75. **γαπονεῖν**, the Doric form, read here by O and Pan., is used in Tragedy, as Matthiae shows on **γάπονος Suppl.** 420. In Homer the Phrygians are allies of the Trojans; in later literature they are identified with them, as here.

78. **στρατόν**. The dat. would have given an easier construction but cf. 108. For **πύρ' αἴθειν** see on 41.

82. ἐν τροπῇ δορός, ‘in the turning back of the battle, i.e. at the moment when the battle has been turned back,’ Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 1275, where the phrase recurs: cf. ἐν μάχῃς τροπῇ, Aesch. *Ag.* 1237.

85. καὶ μάλα σπουδῆ. καὶ simply emphasises μάλα, which in turn modifies σπουδῆ as if it were σπουδάζων.

97. πύρσ' = πυρσά, heterogeneous plur. of πυρσός, found here only. ἔκκεαντες. This old Att. form recurs Ar. *Pax* 1133; κέαντες occurs Aesch. *Ag.* 849; Soph. *El.* 757. The Epic form is ἔκηα.

102. αἰσχρὸν...κακόν, ‘dishonourable...damaging.’ Nauck cf. Hor. *Od.* III. 5. 26 Flagitio additis damnum. In 756 the antithesis recurs but there κακῶς = miserably.

105 ff. For the sentiment cf. with Hagenbach *Il.* XIII. 726 ff.

105. ‘Would that you were as wise as you have been active with strength of arm.’ **δράσας** is my correction of δράσαι (sic) given by the MSS. here and in *Chr. Pat.* 2367. Most editors have followed Mattheiae who retains the inf. δρᾶσαι and understands ἀγαθός or ικανός from εὖβούλος. As a parallel he is content to cite *Or.* 717 ὃ πλὴν γυναικὸς οὐνεκα στρατηλατεῖν | τἄλλ' οὐδέν, “ubi ex οὐδέν subaudiendum τι.” So simple an ellipse will scarcely justify the proposed interpretation of our passage, which should naturally mean ‘O that thou wert wise enough to act (ώς=ώστε) with strength of arm.’ The context seems to require a form of expression analogous to *Heracl.* 731 εἴθ' ἡσθα δυνατὸς δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἰ. Hence various suggestions: δράστηρις, or θρασὺς χερί (F. W. Schmidt), δράστης χερί (Hartung). For the correction δράσας I submit that (1) it involves a very slight alteration of the MSS. reading, confusion between ι and σ occurring more than once in this play; e.g. for κοιμήσων which V and O rightly give in 662, L and P have κοσμήσων: (2) it accounts for the accentuation δράσαι: (3) the comparative infrequency of the construction with the participle, and the fact that the infinitive gives a sense though not the sense required, will help to explain the cause of the corruption. For such collocations of adj. and aor. part. cf. 499 ἔστι δ' αἰμυλώτατον | κρότημ' Ὁδυσσεὺς λῆμά τ' ἀρκούντως θρασὺς | καὶ πλεῖστα χώραν τήνδ' ἀνήρ καθυβρίσας: Soph. *O. T.* 90 οὕτε γὰρ θρασὺς | οὕτ' οὖν προδείσας εἰμι τῷ γε νῦν λόγῳ: Thuc. I. 138 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιώτατα δὴ φύσεως ἴσχὺν δηλώσας, καὶ ἄξιος θαυμάσαι.

108. The two clauses are in loose apposition to *γέρας*. The datives *σοί* and *τοῖς*, found *Chr. Pat.* 2370, would give an easier construction but *σέ* and *τούς* are found in all MSS. and Stobaeus, *Flor.* 54, 9.

109. ὅστις refers to *ἥσθα* (*v. 105*), the three intervening lines forming a kind of parenthesis.

ἐξήρθης, ‘wast carried away’ by the news. Menzer observes that here only do we find *ἔξαλρω* in a metaphorical sense without some word denoting an affection of the mind. Such a use of *ἔπαλρω* is however frequent.

110. φλέγειν. Musgrave (who cites ἀναφλέγω *πυρὸς φῶς*, *Tro.* 320), for φεύγειν (MSS.) which though retained by most editors gives an intolerable construction: ‘who having heard about the torches wast carried away (by the belief) that the A. were fleeing.’ *ἐξήρθης* followed by a clause in *oratio obliqua* would be awkward, and *κλύω* with acc. (=hear of a thing) apparently unexampled. The scribe’s mind would be full of *φυγή* (*cf. vv. 98, 100, 104*).

111. νυκτὸς ἐν καταστάσει, ‘in the quiet of the night.’ F. W. Newman cf. use of *καθέστηκα* in Thuc. 2. 56 ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ καθεστηκυλᾳ, ‘in the settled time of life.’

112. αὐλῶνων=τάφρων. Αἰσχύλος δέ φησι καὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐλῶνα Eustathius, *Il. p. 1157*, 36. So too Carcinus (p. 619 Nauck) βαθεῖαν εἰς αὐλῶνα περίδρομον στρατοῦ (Vater).

115. ‘If conquered, you will, I fear, return no more to yon city.’ τήνδε deictic; he points towards the city on its hill two miles away. The text is that of Schaefer, which seems to account best for the MSS. readings. The scribes were confused by the *independent* use of *μὴ οὐ* to introduce a clause expressing apprehension that something may not happen, coupled with desire to avert the object of fear—a construction of rare occurrence. In *Tro.* 982 *μὴ οὐ πελσῆς σοφούς*, the only other example in Euripides, V and P omit *οὐ*, as (V) here. (On the construction see Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 264.) μόλης, see on *ἥξω* 157.

116. For the palisade in the trench cf. *Il. vii. 441* ἐν δὲ (τάφρῳ) σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν. For στρατός L and P read δορός, an error due to reminiscence of *v. 82* ἐν τροπῇ δορός.

118. ‘unless indeed (Lat. *nisi forte*) after breaking the naves of the chariots.’ This line has been suspected not without reason. (1) ἦν ἄρα μὴ θραύσαντες is strange for *εἰ μὴ ἄρα θραύσαντες*, as Paley

observes—though ἄρα=ἄρα is not infrequent, cf. *El.* 374, 1229, Soph. *El.* 1179, *O. C.* 409; (2) ἀντύγων χνός is a doubtful collocation. ἀντυξ is properly the *outer rim* of something, a shield, a lyre, or a chariot. L. and S. cite for the signification ‘chariot’ *Phoen.* 1193; Soph. *El.* 746; Theocr. 2. 166, but in all of them the notion ‘chariot-rail’ is to be traced. Nor would such a passage as Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 140 ἀντυγεις αἱ τέ σε φεῦ | θηητὴν φορέουσι, where the notion chariot-rail has passed out of sight, justify ἀντύγων χνός. χνόαι are the naves or boxes in which the axles turn. The expression ἀντύγων χνός is, however, recognised in the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria, who, according to Sandys (*Hist. Class. Schol.*), probably belongs to the fifth century A.D. Blaydes conjectured ἀξόνων for ἀντύγων. For ἀξόνων χνόαι cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 153, Soph. *El.* 745.

119. ἔφεδρος, used of a third combatant who *sat by* to fight the winner of a former combat. Lat. *supposititius*. In 954 it is used in the non-technical sense, of an army *blockading* a country.

122. πεπύργωται χερί. Cf. *Or.* 1568 πεπύργωσαι θράσει, whence O reads θράσει for χερί here. Tr. ‘his hand is a tower of strength.’

124. ἀρειφάτων κόπων, ‘after the toils of deadly war,’ cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 913 ἀρειφάτων ἀγώνων, Eur. *Suppl.* 603 ἀρειφατοι φόνοι. There is no reason to regard the word as synonymous with ἀρειοι, as L. and S. do, and to ignore its connection with ἔπεφνον. For other instances of verbals in -τος with active signification, see on *οἰνοπλανήτοις*, 360 f. In Homer ἀρειφατος is passive, ‘slain in war.’

131. μεταθέμενος, Haun. Other mss. have μετατιθέμενος *contra metrum*.

132. ‘I like not a general’s authority to be untrustworthy.’

σφαλερά, *likely to make one stumble*, cf. *Suppl.* 508 σφαλερὸν ἡγεμῶν θρασύς. κράτη, *powers*, in the widest sense. δέ frequently, as here, joins clauses causally connected where γάρ might have been expected.

134 ff. ‘What can be better than that a swiftly-journeying spy should draw near to the ships and see why the foe have watch-fires burning before their naval camp?’ The clause introduced by δέ τι depends on the verbal noun κατόπταν. With κατ’ ἀντίπρωφα, ‘in front of,’ cf. κατ’ ὅμμα 421, κατὰ στόμα 409, 491, ‘in the face of.’

ναυστάθμων, ‘naval encampment,’ like **ναῦς σταθμά** 43. The Greek ships are drawn up on the shore (146) surrounded by a trench and palisade (112, 116). With **ταχυβάταν** (ἄπ. εἰρημένον) Albert cf. ἀβροβάτης Aesch. *Pers.* 1072.

138. **κοίμα**, for **κόσμει** (OLP), is due to Pierson who compares 662, where V and O give **κοιμήσων**, as the context demands, while L and P have **κοσμήσων**. The present change of plan requires not the marshalling of the allies but the calming of the confusion.

143. **ἐς φυγήν** with **όρμωμενοι**, as in Thuc. IV. 14. 1.

145. **ώς οὐ μενούντα με.** The participle of a personal verb used with **ώς** in an accusative absolute construction is found more often in prose, but cf. *Phoen.* 1460 ff., *Ion* 965. **προσμεῖξω** (so spelt in inscriptions of the generation after Eur.—Meisterhans, p. 51) is to be taken with **όλκοῖσι**. ‘I shall approach the canals where the ships are drawn up, to attack (**ἐπὶ**) the Argive host.’ **νεῶν** **όλκοῖσι** like **όλκοὺς** **ναυστάθμων**, 673 *infra*, is a periphrasis for **ναυστάθμοις**. **όλκοί** in both passages probably refers to ‘cuttings or canals where the ships were drawn up for refuge’ (Vater). It is used elsewhere of a *ditch* (Ap. Rhod. 1. 375), of the furrow made in the ground by a wooden log (Xen. *Cyn.* 9. 18), of the cutting made by a chisel (Ar. *Thesm.* 779). L. and S. both here and in 673 translate it ‘windlasses’—a meaning it perhaps bears in Thuc. III. 15, Hdt. II. 154, 159,—but this sense seems inappropriate in 673 *infra*.

147. **ἀσφαλῶς** (**σφαλερά** v. 132).

149. **λόγω**, ‘who are present at my speech.’ It is doubtful whether we should read **λόγω** with O and (V) or **λόχω** with L and P. The phrase **οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ** is found in Ar. *Ach.* 513, *Av.* 30. A similar use of **λόγος** occurs v. 641 of this play. With either reading a further question arises: whom is Hector addressing? Vater maintains that it is the chorus as there is no one present on the stage save Aeneas and Hector. Dolon, he holds, is a member of the chorus and speaks his part from among them as a **παραχορήγημα**. But there is no reason to assume that Hector and Aeneas are alone on the stage. In v. 2 Hector is described as sleeping with his **ὑπασπισταί** around him. When he comes out to address the chorus, it may reasonably be assumed that some of these are in attendance. They are represented on the stage by a few **κωφὰ πρόσωπα**, among whom stands the actor playing the part of Dolon.

155. **ρίψας κίνδυνον**, metaphor from dicing, cf. *Heracl.* 148, Frag. 402 (Nauck), and **ρίψοκίνδυνος**, Xen. *Mem.* I. 3. 9.

157. **ἥξω**, 'I shall be here,' *aderō*. The Greeks often use a simple verb of 'coming,' where the notion 'coming back' is implied and would be expressed in English, cf. *vv.* 115, 223, 589. **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, 'on these conditions,' i.e. his work is to be as proposed in 115, 116. The reward is not mentioned till 161.

158. **ἐπώνυμος**, Δόλων from δόλος.

160. **δἰς τόσως εὐκλεέστερον**=διπλασίω εὐκλεέστερον (Paley). Cf. for the comparative use *Med.* 1194 πῦρ δ', ἐπεὶ κόμην | ἔσεισε, μᾶλλον δἰς τόσως ἐλάμπετο, but there μᾶλλον, as Verrall suggests, may mean 'rather,' and perhaps here we should read with Nauck δῖς τόσῳ τέθηκας.

163. **διπλῆν**, 'a reward appointed for any work makes the favour mutual.' This rendering was suggested by C. E. Palmer, *C. R.* IV. p. 228. 'Dolon was going to bestow a favour on the Trojans and their reward would be a favour conferred on him.' He quotes Soph. *Ant.* 14 δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν δύο | μιᾷ θανόντοις ἡμέρᾳ διπλῇ χερὶ.

164. **οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω**, 'I do not dissent,' as in 271, *El.* 226.

166. **πολιόχου** O, for which V reads (*contra metrum*) the correctly formed and not infrequent **πολιούχου**. But **Πολιόχος** occurs in Athenaeus (2, p. 60B and 7, p. 313C) as the name of a poet of new comedy. For the form cf. **ἡνίοχος**. L and P have **πολιούχου**, *much sustaining*, but cf. 381 where these MSS. give **πολύαρχον** for **πολιαρχον** (V and O).

167. **ἄλλα**, 'at any rate,' as often after a condition expressed or implied.

168. **ἔξ ἐμαυτοῦ μειζόνων γαμεῖν**. For **γαμεῖν** ἐκ, *form a marriage connected with*, cf. Theognis 189, 190; **γαμεῖν ἀπό** occurs *Or.* 1676, *Andr.* 975.

169. **αἰτήσῃ**, used in reference to present time, differs little from **μέλλεις αἰτήσεσθαι** (v. Goodwin, *M. and T.* §§ 407, 408).

170. Cf. *Il.* x. 378 **ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον | χαλκός τε χρυσός τε**.

174. **σχέσθαι**=ἀποσχέσθαι, which is found with the same construction as **σχέσθαι** here, in Aesch. *Suppl.* 756, Plato *Symp.* 214 D.

175. **οὐ μήν**, 'surely you do not ask to receive...?' cf. *Alc.* 518 **οὐ μὴν γυνή γ' ὅλωλεν**"Αλκηστις σέθεν; **τὸν Ἰλέως** (so V), the lesser

Ajax, son of *Oileus* (as the name appears in Homer, 'Οἰλῆος ταχὺς Άλας *Il.* II. 527). L and P read Οἰλέως here.

177. **ἀποινάσθαι.** The active *ἀποινᾶν* is found in a law quoted by Demosthenes (*κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους* 629. 32), and appearing also in an inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* I. 61). The passage refers to the treatment of a convicted homicide who has returned to Attica from exile. *τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἔξειναι ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ* (*our country*), *λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ, μηδὲ ἀποινᾶν* (*amerce*). The middle use here implies ‘hold to ransom.’ In 466 it has the sense ‘exact vengeance from.’ Hesychius has *ἀποινᾶν· ἀπολυτροῦν*.

179. **καὶ μήν** as usual introduces a new point. When this new point is concerned with a difficulty arising from the words of the last speaker *καὶ μήν* becomes adversative (v. Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 531). γε merely adds emphasis to *λαφύρων*. ‘Well then, if you won’t take gold you shall make choice in person from the spoils.’ Cf. 184 *infra*.

180. **δόμοις**, so the great preponderance of mss. Wecklein and Murray read *δόμοις*, on the authority of Harl. and an insertion in L. The dat. is idiomatic when the verb signifies motion followed by rest at or in a place (v. L. and S., *sub vñ*). For the practice of nailing spoils to the temples, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 579; Eur. *Bacchae* 1214.

183. ‘Staking my life in Fortune’s dice-play,’ cf. *Suppl.* 330 *ἢτ’ αὐτὸν ἄλλα βλήματ’* ἐν κύβοις βαλεῖν | πέποιθα: Soph. *Aj.* 1270 *τὴν σὴν προτείνων...ψυχὴν δορί.*

184. **ἀντερᾶν** (with gen. and dat.), meaning ‘to be a rival in love,’ does not occur again till Plutarch *de Solleritia Animalium* (2. 972 D) *οἶος ἡν[ό] ἔρως] ὁ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος...τοῦ ἀντερῶντος Ἀριστοφάνει τῷ γραμματικῷ*. In Aesch. *Ag.* 544 it means ‘love in return.’ *ἀντεραστής, a rival in love*, is found in Plato and Aristophanes.

185 f. For the Homeric description of the horses cf. *Il.* XVI. 149:

Ξάνθον καὶ Βαλίον τὼ ἄμα πνοῆσι πετέσθην
τοὺς ἔτεκε Ζεφύρῳ ἀνέμῳ ἄρπνια Ποδάργη
βοσκομένη λειμῶνι παρὰ ρόον Ὄκεανοδο.

For the gift of the horses to Peleus vide XXIII. 277:

ἀθάνατοι τε γάρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάνων δ' ἔπορ' αὐτοὺς
πατρὶ ἐμῷ Ηηλῆῃ, ὃ δ' αὐτ' ἐμοὶ ἐγγνάλιξεν.

191. **δ' ἄν.** The insertion of *ἄν* is due to Verrall. Without

ἄν, λαβών is equivalent to εἰ ἔλαβον, whereas the sense required would be εἰ λαμβάνω, since the ‘taking’ and ‘receiving’ refer to the same act and therefore to the same moment of time and φημὶ δέχεσθαι is *present*. With ἄν the sentence is equivalent to λέγω ὅτι εἰ λάβοιμι δέχοιμην ἄν, both verbs referring to a contingency in the future. There is, of course, no difference of time between the aorist and present *optative*. [See Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 472.]

197. πόνος ὁδ', Nauck for πόνος δ' of the mss. Cf. 133, the corresponding line of the strophe.

199 f. ‘Let Justice see to what depends on Heaven [victory or death], but men methinks have done their part to make thy bliss complete.’

201. For the opt. with ἄν expressing *a fixed resolve*, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1108 ὡδὸς ὡς ἔχω στείχοιμ' ἄν, with Jebb's note. ἐφέστιος, ‘at my own hearth,’ as in *Od.* III. 234 ἀπολέσθαι ἐφέστιος. The poet seems to ignore the fact that Dolon is in camp. It has been suggested by Patin (*Euripide*, II. p. 155) that Hector retires to his tent during this conversation between Dolon and the chorus.

202. For this construction with καθάπτομαι cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 19 (of a race-horse) οὐ πρὶν ὑπὰ μίτραις κῶλα καθαψάμενος, and the use of καθαπτός and καθημμένος. Tr. ‘I shall array myself in dress to suit my purpose.’

210 ff. ‘And fitting to my hands the fore-feet and the hind-legs to my legs, I shall mimic the four-footed path of a wolf, not easy for a foe to trace.’

For the ‘disguised Dolon’ see *Intro.* § 1. Dolon's equipment has been much ridiculed by critics from the scholiast down. Musgrave, however, quotes Josephus *Bell. Jud.* III. 7. 14, for the use of this stratagem in actual warfare. Josephus there describes how, when besieged by Vespasian in Jotopata, he communicated with friends outside and obtained provisions through messengers who were instructed ἔρπειν τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰ νῶτα καλύπτειν νάκεσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ κατέδοι τις αὐτοὺς νύκτωρ φαντασίαν παρέχοιεν κυνῶν. F. W. Newman mentions the same device as in use among the American Indians: “This trick of barbarous warfare came to the knowledge of the English Government from their American colonists. In their war with the natives several English sentinels were killed, no one knew how; until every sentinel was

ordered to fire on whatever approached him. One fired and killed a native warrior who was crawling up to him on all fours, in aspect like a large hog."

215. **δίβαρος** does not occur elsewhere but Musgrave cites Pindar *Pyth.* 9. 20 for *παλιμβάμους ὄδούς*.

216 f. Similarly Medea invokes Hermes to escort Aegeus (*Med.* 759).

217. **φηλητῶν**, *cheats*. This word occurs in the *Hymn to Hermes*, 67, 292, 446, and is found in the Tragedians, Soph. *Frg.* 847 (Nauck), Aesch. *Cho.* 1001. It is probably cognate with *ἀποφάλιος* (cf. *φηλῶν*, *φῆλος*), and to be connected with *σφάλλω*, Lat. *fallo*. The incorrect spelling *φιλητής* is frequently given in MSS. on the authority of grammarians who derived the word from *ὑφείλετο*.

219. For the turn of phrase, cf. 258.

223. **ἥξω**, see on 157. This speech of Dolon contains Tragic Irony of a somewhat obvious kind. He boasts that he will slay the very men who are destined to be his own destroyers.

224. At Thymbra, a town in the Troad, there was a celebrated altar of Apollo, to which reference is made in v. 508. Delos, the birth-place of the god, is constantly associated with Lycia; at Patara, in that country, he had an oracle. Hence Horace's *Delius et Patareus Apollo*.

226. Observe **δῖα** here but **δῖα** in Homer, e.g. *δῖα γυναικῶν*. The other passages in the Tragedians where the word occurs throw no light on the quantity which they gave to the final syllable.

229. **καὶ γενοῦ**. Dindorf has restored these words to their proper position. In the MSS. they have changed places with *ἀγεμών* (v. 230). For the form of the prayer cf. *Alc.* 223 where also Apollo is invoked: *καὶ νῦν λυτήριος ἐκ θανάτου γενοῦ*.

πομπᾶς, 'journey': for this sense cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 613 *συμμιγεῖς... ἀνδράσιν... τείνοντι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν*: Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 164 *καὶ ὡς τάχος ὀτρύνει με τεύχειν ναῦ πομπάν*.

232. **δεῖμας**. Φοῖβός τε κάγῳ [Ποσειδῶν] λαΐνοντι πύργοντι πέριξ | . δρθοῖσιν ἔθεμεν κανόσιν.—*Tro.* 5.

233. **ναυκλήρια**, 'shipyard' (Murray): apparently = *ναῶν σταθμά*, *ναύσταθμα*. Elsewhere only in Dem. 690 *ad fin.* and Plut. 2. 234 F. Both passages relate to Lampis of Aegina, of whom Dem. states,

μέγιστα ναυκλήρια κέκτηται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, and Plut. ἔδοκει πλουσιώτατος εἶναι, *ναυκλήρια πολλὰ ἔχων*. In these passages, however, some have taken *ναυκλήρια* to mean ‘ships let out on hire.’

235. **κάμψειε**, intransitive, ‘turn back to’: so *Bacchae* 1225
πάλιν δὲ κάμψας εἰς θρόνος.

239. **δεσπότου**, Hector. **πέρθω**, in Homer only of places.

240. **τάς**: in 185 the steeds are *horses* as in Homer. The article is used for the relative pronoun by the Tragedians, only in those forms beginning with a consonant, and generally to avoid hiatus. See further on 693 *infra*.

241. **διδωσι**. “The present is used of remote events after relatives both in Greek and Latin” (Palmer on Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 13), so *infra* v. 502, 945.

247. **δυσάλιον** (*ῆλιος*) is the reading of V and O: ‘whensoever it is sunless on the sea.’ Dindorf aptly cites Xen. *Cyn.* 8. 1 ὅταν ἡ βόρειον. **δυσήλιον κνέφας** is found in Aesch. *Eum.* 396. Murray reads **δυσάλιος** (qualifying *πόλις*) with L and P; but the expression is less natural. Wilamowitz stigmatises **δυσάλιον** as *absurdum Vaticanum vitium*. He would read **δυσάνιος** (*ἡνία*) ‘hard to guide,’ a conjecture of Musgrave which occurred independently to himself.

250. **Θράσος** in Eur. generally suggests the notion of *insolence*, but in *Suppl.* 609, *τόδε μοι θράσος ἀμφιβαίνει*, it means ‘courageous hope,’ and **θράσος=θάρσος** is not infrequent in Sophocles. **αἰχμή**, ‘warfare’: so in *Herc. Fur.* 158 *θηρῶν ἐν αἰχμῇ*, ‘in warfare with wild beasts.’

252. ‘Where now is the Mysian who scorns me for ally?’ **πόθι** is Hoffmann’s correction of **ποτὶ** which yields no satisfactory sense. Various explanations of the line as given in the MSS. have been proposed. Σ paraphrases, ὁ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀτίξων πρὸς Μυσῶν ἔστιν (i.e. is like a Mysian) ἦ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, **ἔσχατος καὶ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἄξιος**. He appends a long dissertation on the origin of the phrase **ἔσχατος Μυσῶν**. A second line of interpretation is adopted by Vater and Hermann who put no stop at **αἰχμῇ** and take the passage as equivalent to **ἔνεστι θράσος ἐν αἰχμῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον δις ἐμὴν Μυσῶν συμμαχίαν ἀτίξει**. The Mysian allies are mentioned *infra* v. 541.

254-7. ‘What man of the Achaeans in the camp will the earth-treading assassin smite, as on all fours he mimics a wild beast

moving on the earth?' πεδοστιβής, further defined in meaning by the clause, τετράπουν...θηρός. ἔχων τετράπουν μῆμον = ἔχων τέτταρας πόδας μῆμον ('mimic actors'). For the sense, cf. *Hec.* 1058 (of the blinded Polymestor) τετράποδος βάσιν θηρὸς ὀρεστέρον τιθέμενος. ἐπὶ γᾶν, 'over the surface of the ground.' LP have γαῖας, Ο γαῖα, V γαῖαν, but a monosyllable is required to correspond with the strophe (245).

257 f. 'May he overthrow Menelaus, and slay Agamemnon and bring his head to Helen, to make her lament her evil brother-in-law.' Very similar is the phrase in *Hipp.* 753-6 πόρθμας ἀ ἐπόρευσας ἐμὰν ἀνασσαν...κακονυμφοτάτην ὄνασιν. The adjective κακόγαμβρον is equivalent to an objective genitive. The form is ἄπ. εἰπ.

261. ἐπὶ πόλιν. L and P have πῶλον. Hence Scaliger conjectured μῶλον reading θάρσος in the strophe (v. 250). For ἐπὶ γᾶν Dindorf wrote ἐς γᾶν to bring the line into exact correspondence with the strophe.

263. στρατείαν, Heath for MSS. στρατιάν, cf. 253.

266. ἀγρώταις, read here by V and L, is found also *Bacchae* 564. ἀγρώταις, the usual tragic form, is given here by O and P, and occurs *infra* 287. For the double dat. cf. *Med.* 992 παισὶν ὅλεθρον βιοτῷ προσάγεις.

267 f. 'For, while your lord is still in arms, you are come, it seems, to bring him tidings of his flocks—in this unfitting place.'

268. ἀγγελῶν ποίμνας: for ἀγγέλλω, *to bring news of*, cf. *Od.* XIV. 122 οὐ τις κεῖνον ἀνήρ...ἀγγέλλων πείσειε γιναῖκα. This Homeric construction is perhaps not found elsewhere in Tragedy.

270. γεγωνεῖν, a word of the grand style used here no doubt with a certain irony. σ(ε) is subject of γεγωνεῖν and ποίμνια acc. of closer definition after εὐτυχοῦντα. οἱ, owing to the idea of motion implied in γεγωνεῖν.

273. προσαυλείους τύχας, 'the fortunes of the fold.' The adj. is not found elsewhere.

274. πρὸ χειρῶν, cf. *I.A.* 36 δέλτον τε γράφεις τήνδ' ἦν πρὸ χειρῶν ἔτι βαστάζεις. *Tro.* 1207 πρὸ χειρῶν φέρουσι κόσμον. In these passages the phrase is used of material things 'visible in the hands'; here it is partly metaphorical. Tr. 'we bear with us the burden of battles and spears.'

δόρη for **δόρατα**, not elsewhere in Tragedy, though the dat. **δόρει** is sometimes found. Bergk, however, cites a fragment of the **Καπηλίδες** of Theopompus, a writer of old comedy, **ἔλεφαντοκώπους ξιφομαχίρας καὶ δόρη** (Kock, I. p. 739).

276. **ἀλκῆς** (L and P), as somewhat the more difficult reading, is to be preferred to **ἀρχῆς** (V and O). The fundamental sense of the word is *fighting power* or *force*. Its use here in the sense ‘*a force*’ approximates closely to its signification in several passages of Plutarch, e.g. *Cimon* 5, where *ιππικὴ ἀλκή* is opposed to *ναύμαχοι ἄνδρες*.

στρατηλατῶν, elsewhere with dat. except *H. F.* 61 where it takes gen. as here.

280 f. ‘You tell of Rhesus setting foot in Troy?’ ‘You know my message.’ The Greeks frequently used the aorist of action just completed, where in English the present is idiomatic.

285. **ὅρφνῃ**. This reading was derived by Vater from a corrupt line (2096) in *Chr. Pat.* **μορφῇ γὰρ οὕτι φαῦλον ἐσβαλεῖν τινά.** **νυκτός**, the reading of the mss., may have been originally a gloss on **ὅρφνῃ**, which occurs *infra* 570, 587.

οὐ φαῦλον (**ἐστι**), ‘tis no light matter to... cf. *El.* 760.

288. **αὐτόρριζον ἑστίαν χθονός**, ‘our country’s primeval habitation,’ cf. (with Barnes) *Il.* xx. 216 ...**ἐπεὶ οὕπω Ἰλιος ιρή | ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, | ἀλλ’ ἔθ’ ὑπωρείας ϕέκεον πολυπίδακος** “Ιδης. The inhabitants of an **αὐτόρριζος ἑστία** would be **αὐτόχθονες**.

It would be also possible, as suggested by Mr J. T. Sheppard, *C. R.* XXVIII. p. 87, to translate ‘the rustics who inhabit a dwelling in the earth not made with hands,’ i.e. a mountain cave; **ἑστία** = **οἶκος** as often in Trag. Mr Sheppard quotes Hesych. (Nauck, *Adesp.* 201) **αὐτόχθων ἑστία· ἡ τοῦ Χείρων παρ’ ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ὁρεσι διῆγεν.**

290. **ῥέων στρατός**, ‘streaming on,’ cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 80 **ῥεῖ πολὺς λεώς**; Eur. Frag. 146 (Nauck) **πᾶς δὲ ποιμένων ἔρρει λεώς**.

294. **πρὶν** with the indicative (= *until*) is found seven times in Eur., all the instances being affirmative statements (cf. v. 568 *infra*). In prose the construction is *regularly* used only to denote a definite past action after a negative. (Goodwin, *M. and T.* §§ 633, 634.)

οὐχ Ἐλληνικήν. In this play, as in Homer, there is no distinction

suggested between the speech of the Greeks and the Trojans. Euripides, knowing that Greek was not the language of the Thracians of his day, introduced the 'Thracian speech' as a touch of realism, regardless of Epic convention. In Homer the only people whose linguistic peculiarities are noticed are the Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι.

295. ἐδεξάμεσθα, 'caught': *Bacchae* 1086 ἡχὴν οὐ σαφῶς δεγμέναι : *El.* 110 ἐξώμεσθα...ἥν τι δεξώμεσθ' ἔπος. This meaning is distinguished by Verrall from the meaning 'accept,' 'hearken to,' which is found in *Med.* 175; also *supra* v. 4.

296. ἄνακτος. Objection has been taken to this word, as the shepherd had not yet learnt that it was the army of Rhesus, but the word may be used generally of any lord or leader. Wecklein conjectures ἀν' αὐτούς. προνξερευνητής, ἥπ. εἰρ., but προνξερευνάω is found (*Phoe.* 92).

302. I give the reading of L and P. Murray cites in support *Il.* xi. 198 ἑσταότ' ἐν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσι. V and O have ἐν ἵππεισι Θρηκίοις ὅχοις.

303. πλάστιγξ. "Properly the *scale*, then the *beam* of the balance and hence (from the similarity of shape) the yoke fastened across the necks of the beasts. When the yoke is unused it hangs suspended from the pole and at once suggests a pair of scales," Paley. Similarly συγόν from meaning a *yoke* or *crossbar* came to mean the *beam of a balance* (*Aesch. Suppl.* 822 συγὸν ταλάντου) and then the *balance itself* (*Plato Rep.* 550 E ἐν πλάστιγγι συγοῦ).

For the description of Rhesus' chariot cf. *Il.* x. 439 ff. ἄρμα δέ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἡσκηται | τεύχεα δὲ χρύσεια, πελώρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, | ἥλυθ' ἔχων.

304. ἔξανγεστέρων, here only: εὐάγής with the same sense 'bright,' 'splendid' is frequent and appears as εὐανγής in the newly discovered fragments of Pindar.

305. πέλτη, the national equipment of the Thracians, cf. *Alcestis* 498 σαχρύσον Θρηκίας πέλτης ἄναξ. The aegis of Athene mentioned in the next line was figured in works of art as a goat-skin with the Gorgon's head fixed in the centre.

308. Apparently imitated from *Aesch. Theb.* 385 f. ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ | χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον.

309 f. 'The full number of the host you could not set down, even by tale of pebble, so monstrous was it.' The reference is to

the use of the counting-board or abacus (*ἀβάκιον*) divided into columns for units, tens, etc., on which children learnt arithmetic, and which even adults used for calculation (*λογισμός*). This method is contrasted with rough calculation *ἀπὸ χειρός*. The sense is ‘not even all your arithmetic would enable you to tell the tale of a host whose number exceeds what sense can grasp.’ Cf. Milton’s ‘numbers without number.’ The shepherd merely wants to say that the host was immeasurable.

For **θέσθαι**, *set down*, cf. *Med.* 532 οὐκ ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸ θήσομαι λαν. δύναι’ ἄν V and O, διναίμην L and P. **ἄπλατον** (*ἀπέλαστον*), lit. ‘unapproachable,’ generally implies something portentous, e.g. *ἄπλατον θρέμμα* (*Soph. Tr.* 1093) of the Nemean lion; *ἄπλατος κοίτη*, the tomb (*Med.* 151). Here it means *too great for sense to grasp*. For this meaning Vater cites Archestratus (Fr. 59 Ri.), a writer of the fourth century B.C., who comments on the fragrance of Phoenician wine: ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτο χρόνου διὰ μῆκος *ἄπλατον*.

317. ‘Whosoever the gods stand firm for the city.’ **εὐσταθεῖν** does not occur elsewhere in Tragedy but is found in a similar sense in Plutarch; cf. *εὐσταθής*, *εὐστάθεια*.

318. **κατάντης**. The metaphor, as C. E. Palmer suggested, may be derived from the scales of a balance. *κατάντης* is unknown elsewhere in Tragedy, though *προσάντης*, of persons and things, occurs several times.

322 f. **ξυμπονοῦσιν**, see on 241. *ἡνίκα...πνέων*, ‘when the wrecking storm of war with violent blast was tearing asunder the canvas of our ship of state.’ **ἔξωσται ἄνεμοι**, violent winds that drive ships out of their course; Hdt. 2. 113 καὶ μιν ἔξωσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αιγύπτιον πέλαγος. The verb in the same connection appears in *Cycl.* 278 σὴν γαῖαν ἔξωσθέντες ἥκομεν.

327. **ἐπίμορφος**, here only with active signification, cf. (with Albert) *ἐπίφθονος* active in Aesch. *Ag.* 135, passive in 921 of the same play, and *infra* 334.

333–338. The transposition of verses, as in text, and re-arrangement of speakers are due to Nauck. [For the variations in the mss. see *crit. not.*]

333. **μισῶ ὕστερον βοηδρομεῖν**, ‘I hate one who comes too late to help his friends.’ *βοηδρομεῖν* depends on *ὕστερον*.

336. ‘Howbeit since he *came*, though not to be our ally but our

guest, let him *be with us* at the table of the guests.' ὁ δ' οὖν, not ὁδ' οὖν (as given in the MSS.), is idiomatic here; Paley cites *Alc.* 73; Aesch. *Prom.* 935. The difference in significance between ἡλθε and ἤκέτω is to be noted. Hector concedes that Rhesus at least made the journey. The clause σύμμαχος μὲν οὖ, ξένος δέ is to be taken with ἡλθε: cf. 325.

339. **καὶριώς σκοπεῖς** is generally taken to mean 'view the matter in a proper light' (Paley), but C. E. Palmer, *C. R.* iv. p. 228 f., suggests that the meaning is 'you keep an opportune look-out'—by so carefully observing Rhesus and the numerous army of allies.

340 f. 'And let the lord of the golden armour, as the messenger describes him, be present as the ally of this land.' οὗνεκ' ἀγγέλου λόγων, lit. 'so far as the messenger's words go.' Hector is pleased to be sarcastic. For examples of this meaning of the preposition see L. and S., *sub vb.* ένεκα II. 2. For οὗνεκα as a preposition see on 660 *infra*. παρέστω (L and P) is obviously superior to πάρεσται (V and O), which however was read by Σ who comments: ἐπεὶ καλῶς παρήνεσεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸν Ρῆσον εἰς συμμαχίαν δέχεσθαι, λοιπὸν ἥξει. **χρυσοτευχής**, ἄπ. εἰρ., but cf. (with Albert) **χρυσοφεγγής** Aesch. *Ag.* 288.

342. Adrasteia is invoked with special propriety. Though joined with Nemesis as a goddess who punishes boastful words, she was originally a Trojan mountain deity with a shrine and altar at Cyzicus. Her Phrygian origin is recognised by Aeschylus (*Frg.* 158). It was at Athens that she became associated with the Rhamnusian Nemesis, herself in one aspect a goddess of the wilds and connected with Artemis. For this association cf. Menander (*Frg. Com. Att.* III. p. 93 Koch): 'Αδράστεια καὶ | θεὰ σκυθρωπὴ Νέμεσι, συγγιγνώσκετε. The two appear as judges of the dead; the association being no doubt aided by the popular derivation of the name 'Αδράστεια from ἀ and διδράσκω, *the Inevitable One*. Adrasteia is invoked here that no harm may come of the glorification of Rhesus whose praise the chorus is about to sing. For similar appeals to her *v. infra* 468, Aesch. *Prom.* 936; Plato *Rep.* 451 A.

The poet, according to Σ, differs from the usual mythology in making Adrasteia daughter of Zeus. She is generally described as the nurse of the infant god.

347. 'Thou art come, thou hast approached the hall where rules

the Friendly God.' **Φιλίου**, L and P; **Φρυγίαν**, V and O, which may have arisen from a gloss inserted by some one who misunderstood the use of **Φιλίου**. For **Φίλιος**, the Friendly God, generally identified with Zeus, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 730, *νὴ τὸν Φίλιον*: Eur. *Andr.* 603 (of Helen) *ἥτις ἐκ δόμων | τὸν σὸν λιποῦσα Φίλιον ἔξεκώμασε*. The worship of the Friendly God is described in Harrison, *Proleg. Gk Rel.* pp. 357, 358.

349. **καλλιγέφυρος**. *ἄπ. εἰρ.* Albert cf. **καλλίπρωπος** Aesch. *Ag.* 235.

351 ff. 'Strymon who once, eddying in liquid guise thro' the virgin body of the muse, begat thy manly form.' **σὰν ηβαν**, a periphrasis like **βίᾳ Ἡρακλέους** and **ἀλκῇ Αἴαντος** (Pind. *Isth.* 4. 35).

355. **φαναῖος**. This epithet is applied to Zeus here only. It is quoted in Hesychius from Achaeus in reference to Apollo, but as Strabo (xiv. p. 645) speaks of a temple of Apollo at Phanae in Chios, we may in that connection understand it as a local surname. In the present passage it may bear the meaning 'the revealed one' (= **ἐπιφανῆς**) as Farnell (*Cults of Gk States*, vol. iv. p. 138, note c) suggests. It is generally, however, connected with **φανή** and explained 'the light-bringer,' i.e. 'deliverer.' Cf. Zacher, *Diss. Phil. Hal.* 3 (1878), 255.

356. **βαλιᾶς**, 'dappled.' Σ desirous to save the poet from inconsistency (cf. *vv.* 304, 618) explains *ἀντὶ τοῦ ταχείας*. There is however no authority for this meaning except in late authors who employ **βαλιός** as an epithet of *winds*.

359. 'Thou canst name Zeus the Deliverer,' i.e. call Rhesus by this title. The Greeks after the Persian war erected an altar to Zeus Eleutherios, for which Simonides composed his famous epigram.

360 ff. 'Shall ancient Troy ever again fill all the day with bands of boon-companions 'mid melodies of love and contests of the flowing cups, that send the wine a-wandering, when over the sea to Sparta the Atreidae are gone from the Ilian shore?'

361. **τούς**, implying that revel-bands were a customary feature in the celebration of victory. **παναμερέυσει**. For vbs. in -ένω used transitively cf. *infra* 434 **δύμηρέυσας τέκνα**, *Or.* 405 **ὅς σὸν ὕρθενεν δέμας**.

362 f. **ἔρωτῶν ψαλμοῖσι** are best taken together, though

Matthiae joins θιάσους ἐρώτων = *bands of lovers*. **Ψαλμοῖσι**, Canter for MSS. ψάλμασι (cf. v. 373). **οἰνοπλανήτοις**. For the active use of the verbal cf. ἀψαυστος (Soph. *O. T.* 969), μεμπτός *Trach.* 446. Σ explains it ‘bewildering (*παραγούσαις τὸν νοῦν*) with wine,’ but perhaps the true sense is ‘making the wine to wander.’ The cups pass quickly as people challenge one another (cf. *προπότας*, 361): we are reminded of Lovelace’s ‘When flowing cups run swiftly round.’ The form *οινοπλάνητος* is ἄπ. εἰρ.

364. **ὑποδεξίας**, *capacious*, if correct, is applied by hypallage (so Σ) to ἀμιλλαῖς instead of to κυλίκων. It is found also in Hdt. 7. 49, λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, where however Valckenaer read ὑποδεξίμων; and L. Dindorf would substitute here ἐπιδεξίοις, *from left to right*, the auspicious direction for serving wine (v. L. and S.). But Suidas and Photius recognise ὑποδέξιος which they gloss ὑποδοχεύς.

372 f. ‘raising it aslant along the chariot’s branching rail’ (E. P. Coleridge). Wilamowitz remarks, ‘ἄντυξ cur σχιστή vocetur sciunt qui vascula picta non contemnunt’: see chariot figured in Seyffert, *Dict. Class. Ant.* **πώλους**, Reiske, for the unmeaning κώλοις of L and P. The words πώλους ἐρεθίζων are omitted in V. Hence Σ explains ἄντυξ of the rim of the shield.

374. **δίβολον ἄκοντα**, ‘a two-pronged javelin.’ Vater refers to a schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* vi. 52 f.: ὥστε μὰ βολὴ δισσὰ τὰ τραύματ’ ἀπεργάζεσθαι. He cites also the ἀμφώβολοι (two-pronged forks) mentioned *Andr.* 1133. According to Verrall the διπλῆ μάστιξ τὴν Ἀρῆς φίλει, δίλογχον ἄτην (Aesch. *Ag.* 642) was the same as the δίβολος ἄκων here.

378 f. ‘But now slain by a doom from Thrace, a welcome burden, this soil shall bear him.’ **καπφθίμενον**, Musgrave for καπφθίμενον which MSS. give *contra metrum*. So καπφθίμένης is restored in *El.* 1299, and καπφθίμενον *Sapph.* 984.

381. **πολιάρχον ἰδεῖν**, ‘of royal mien.’ Paley cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 644 ἄνδρα τευχηστὴν ἰδεῖν.

383. ‘Hear too the challenge of the clashing bells, ringing out from the shield-straps,’ **πορπάκων**. It is to be remembered that the shield described was a πέλτη, differing from the ἀσπίς by its smaller size and lightness. It had no ἄντυξ and was probably quadrangular. The πόρπαξ was a strap running round the shield at a slight distance from the edge, arranged to form a series of loops and fastened at

intervals to the shield by pins (*πόρπαι*). The warrior, having first slipped his forearm through the *σχανον* or handle, a bar running down the middle of the shield, grasped with his hand one of the loops of the *πόρπαξ*. The plural for the strap of a single shield, which occurs here only, is perhaps employed to draw attention to the separate loops to which the bells were attached. [V. Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* sub *vbb.* clypeus, pelta.] For the bells cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 386; the Trojans carried bells also; for Sophocles, Frg. 775 (Nauck), calls them *σὺν σάκει κωδωνοκόρτῳ παλαισταῖ*.

387. **καταπλεῖ**, Verrall. **καταπνεῖ**, LPVO. If **καταπνεῖ** be correct it means ‘breathes upon’; a not very satisfactory sense. Editors quote ὁδμὴ θεόσυτος (*Prom.* 115), θεῖον ὁδμῆς πνεῦμα (*Hipp.* 1391) to illustrate the notion that divine beings left a fragrance behind them; but (1) Rhesus is called divine only by way of flattery, (2) there is no word in the context to suggest the notion of fragrance or perfume. Moreover, **καταπνεῖ** should take a genitive. The parallel passage (*Med.* 856 ff.) is generally given thus :

ἐπὶ Κηφισοῦ ῥοᾶς
τὰν Κύπριν κλήγουσιν ἀφυσταμέναν
χώραν καταπνεῦσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων
ἡδυπνύοντος αὔρας.

In commenting on these verses Verrall argues that in both passages forms from **καταπλέω** should be read. Though not found in our extant tragedies it is frequent in the best prose in the sense ‘disembark on’ which is just the sense required here. Only a very prosaic critic would object to the chorus singing, ‘A very god, the War-God himself, offspring of the Strymon and a minstrel muse, is come, O Troy, and lands on thy shore,’ on the ground that Rhesus had already landed and was completing the journey in his chariot. If the muse can say of Rhesus (*v.* 934) *Τροίας ἀπηγόων ἄστυ μὴ κέλσαι ποτέ*, though *Τροίας ἄστυ* is some miles from the sea, there can be no impropriety in the use of **καταπλεῖν** here.

388f. For the form of address cf. Milton’s ‘Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son.’ **παλαιῷ ἡμέρᾳ**: ‘It is late in the day that I address you’ or, as we sometimes say, ‘at the eleventh hour.’ The ‘day’ is a period during which his presence might have been expected. It would be difficult I think to find an exact parallel

to this use of the words. The use in Soph. *Ajax* 623 is not analogous, as they are there employed of the old age of a person.

390. **χαίρω** with participial construction in the accusative, as in Eur. *Hipp.* 1340, Soph. *Ajax* 136; cf. also *Phil.* 1314, *ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε.*

395. **διπλοῦς**, 'subtle,' a Platonic sense, not found elsewhere in Tragedy. Horace (as Bentley observed) was translating the Greek word when he wrote, 'cursus *duplicis* per mare Ulixei.'

399. **λέξεις.** The future is used to express a concession, 'you cannot say' (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 69).

401. **γερουσία**, a *council of elders*, generally as forming a deliberative assembly (Senate), here as forming an *embassy* (cf. 936), for which elsewhere **πρεσβεῖα** occurs.

404. **έγγενής**, i.e. belonging to a tribe with which the Trojans claimed kinship, as may be inferred from the rest of the line. Rhesus was not personally a kinsman of Hector, or of any of the Trojans (cf. 904, 5).

405. **προύπτεις.** From the custom of the host presenting to his guest the goblet in which he had drunk his health the verb came to mean 'give away,' 'betray.' (For the various meanings see exx. in L. and S.)

410. **πέλτη** for a *line of πελτασταῖ*: so again in 487; cf. use of **δόρυν**, v. 20.

411. 'Thou hast spurned the great debt of gratitude due for these services.'

413. **έγγενεῖς.** It is not necessary to alter this to *ἐν γένει* as is done by Valckenaer and most editors since, who quote for that idiom *Alc.* 904 *ἔμοι τις ἦν ἐν γένει*: Soph. *O. T.* 1016: Dem. p. 1160 *ad fin.* But **έγγενής** in the same sense is perfectly correct, cf. *O. C.* 1167 *ὅρα κατ'* *Ἄργος εἴ τις νῦν έγγενής*.

415. **πίστις**, *proof of loyalty*: similarly *Hipp.* 1037 *ὅρκους παρασχῶν, πίστιν οὐ σμικρὰν, θεῶν.*

417. **δίψιον πῦρ θεοῦ**, 'the sun-god's thirsty flame.' The epithet **δίψιον** as applied to the sun has been objected to, but if the earth may be called *thirsty* because it absorbs moisture (*δύψια κόνις* Aesch. *Ag.* 495) there is no reason why the process of evaporation may not be represented under the same metaphor. **ἄησις**, *ἀπ. εἰρ.*; Albert cf. *ἄημα* Aesch. *Eum.* 906; Soph. *Aj.* 674.

418. ‘Not on couches, pledging in many a bumper, like you.’
ἀμυστιν (ἀ, μύω) a long draught taken without drawing breath,
 cf. *Cycl.* 417 ἐδέξατ’ ἔσπασέν τ’ ἀμυστιν ἐλκύσας. This method of
 drinking was a notorious Thracian custom. Hor. *Od.* 1. 36. 13,
Neu multi Damalis meri | Bassum Threiccia vincat amystide.

419. **δεξιούμενοι.** This word meaning ‘to use the right hand in greeting’ has two constructions, δεξιοῦσθαι τινα and δεξιοῦσθαι τινι. From these were developed more general significations: (1) to greet, as δεξιοῦσθαι τινα λόγοις, (2) to employ in greeting, δεξιοῦσθαι (τινι) τι as here.

420. ὡς ἄν, see on 72.

425. **πρὸς ἥπαρ,** with ἐτειρόμην, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 432, πολλὰ
 θιγγάνει πρὸς ἥπαρ.

427. **νόστον,** ἀπλῶς τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ τὸν πλοῦν, Σ, for which use cf.
Soph. Phil. 43; Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1261.

428. **ἀφικόμην,** English requires the more exact ppf., ‘I had arrived.’

430. **πέλανος,** of liquid blood as in Aesch. *Eum.* 265, ἀπὸ
 ξῶντος ροφεῶν ἐρυθρὸν ἐκ μελέων πέλανον, *Pers.* 816 πέλανος αἵματο-
 σταγής.

434. **όμηρεύσας,** ‘having made their children hostages,’ here
 only transitive in tragedy, unless it is to be so explained *Bacch.* 297.
 Of the proper sense of the verb ‘to be a hostage’ there are several
 exx. in prose. For trans. use of verbs in -εύω cf. *supra* 361.

436. ‘I am here: by ship I crossed the mouth of the Sea (the
 Pontus) and by land have crossed the remaining frontiers of the
 country.’ The aor. part. denotes that the sea-voyage was completed
 prior to the arrival; the present that the act of crossing the re-
 maining frontiers is regarded as simultaneous with the arrival.

πόντιον στόμα, the Thracian Bosphorus, cf. the reference to the
Euxine v. 428. In describing the route taken by Rhesus the poet
 is probably following the legend to which Suidas alludes in his
 note: ‘Ρῆσος στρατηγὸς Βυζαντίων. ἦλθεν εἰς συμμαχίαν τῶν Τρώων.

438. The full construction would be οὐ (ποιῶν) ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς
 (δο κομπεῖς) τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμύστιδας. Cf. *Bacchae* 686 f.:

αἱ δ’ ἐν δρυὶς φύλλοισι πρὸς πέδῳ κάρα
 εἰκῇ βαλοῦσαι σωφρόνως, οὐχ ὡς σὺ φῆς
 φύωμένας κρατῆρι καὶ λωτοῦ ψόφῳ
 θηρᾶν καθ’ ὅλην Κύπριν ἡρημωμένας.

κομπέω, from meaning ‘to make a noise’ when used metaphorically generally implies ‘to boast.’ But it can just as well signify a loud and bitter complaint as here. Hector could not ‘boast’ of Rhesus’ drinking habits. Similarly in v. 875 f. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὲ τείνεται | γλῶσσ’, ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς, Hector could not *boast* but might well *complain* that a charge of assassination had been made against him. So too in *Or.* 571 Orestes, defending himself for having slain Clytemnestra, on the ground that her murder of Agamemnon, if unpunished, would encourage other wives to act similarly, adds δράσας δ’ ἔγὼ | δείν’, ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς, τόνδ’ ἔπανσα τὸν νόμον. Tyndareus had not *boasted* but he had *complained* of Orestes’ act. This sense is not given in L. and S.

440 ff. ‘But such frozen blasts as vexed the Thracian Pontus and the Paeonians I know that I endured in this cloak through many a sleepless night.’ **Πόντον Θρήκιον** ‘the Euxine’ to which the name *πόντος* was specially applied. The epithet *Thracian* is unusual in this connection but ‘Thracian Bosphorus’ is familiar. The Paeonians no doubt formed part of Rhesus’ army. So Murray, who tr. ‘I have borne my nights of winter storm that starred | The Euxine into ice and scared the strong | Paeonians.’ Dr Way’s ‘Paeonian steppes and Thracian sea,’ as a glance at an atlas will show, are irrelevant here.

441. **κρυσταλλόπηκτα**: with a similar looseness of expression we speak of ‘frozen blasts.’ **ἐπεζάρει.** Canter introduced this Arcadian form (found in *Phoen.* 45) of **ἐπεβάρει** for the meaningless **ἐπεξάτει** of the MSS.

442. **πορπάμασιν**, *a cloak*. The Attic writers employ the plural and the Doric form. The correction is due to Porson.

445. **ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας.** Lat. *diem de die*. The phrase is found also in Heniochus (a writer of Middle Comedy) 5. 13 [Kock II. p. 434].

446. **πίπτεις**, ‘you lose; and the stake is your warfare with the Argives.’ For *πίπτω* metaphorically cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 794, *πέπτωκε κομπάσματα*. **κυβεύων** transitive, *staking*, as in *Anth. Pal.* XII. 47, *τούμὸν πνεῦμ’ ἐκύβευσεν* “Ἐρως: Id. VII. 427, *τὸ κυβευθὲν πνεῦμα*. It is quite possible however that we should read with Sellier **ῥίπτεις**, ‘you risk on a gambler’s throw your warfare with the Argives.’ **κυβεύων** would then be intransitive, as usual. For the phrase **ῥίπτεις...**”*Ἄρη* cf. 155, **ῥίψας κλινδυνον**, and note.

449. θατέρᾳ, sc. ἡμέρᾳ from φῶς ἡλίου.

451. ἄρηται, L. Dindorf. The *aor.* subj. is required in particular prohibitions.

459. νάιον δόρυ, 'ship'; cf. Pindar's εἰνάλιον δόρυ; so frequently δόρυ alone.

460-466. In the arrangement of these lines I have followed Schroeder, who, for the sake of the rhythm (cf. antistrophe 826-833), changes the MSS. order in 460 (with Nauck) and 462; inserting (with Dindorf) ἔτ' after τόδ' in 464, and σὰ after ἀποινάσαιο in 466.

In 465 δτῷ for δπως is due to Musgrave. ἀποινάσαιο. See on 177. The opt. is due to attraction to the mood of εἰσίδοιμι. πολυφόνου χειρός, gen. of price, cf. 192, 467.

468. 'Αδραστείᾳ: see on 342.

469. ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν (V. has ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν δ'). Most editors read ἐπειδὰν here and in Aesch. *Sept.* 734, but the short final syllable is unlikely (ἐπειδὰν = ἐπειδὴ + ἀν), although assumed without discussion by Kühner-Blass (*Ausf. Gr. d. Gr. Sprache*, I. § 51, 5 g.).

477. νομόν, 'region,' cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 33, who uses the word of Rhodes.

480. 'Aye, and we scorn them not; but have a surfeit of them' (lit. plunge into a surfeit); ἄδην is really acc. of a subst. ἄδη, *satiety*, used in a local sense with ἐλαύνω. For the intr. ἐλαύνω in metaphorical sense, cf. Tyrtaeus 11. 9, καὶ πρὸς φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγένεσθε, | ὁ νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ' εἰς κόρον ἡλάσατε: Solon *ap.* Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 5. 3, οὐ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσ κόρον ἡλάσατε.

The phrase ἄδην ἐλαύνειν is found three times in Homer in the sense *give a surfeit of*, lit. *drive into satiety of* (*Il.* xix. 423, *XIII.* 315, *Od.* v. 290). Hence Hartung emends the present passage to ἄδην ἐλαύνομαι, lit. 'I am driven into satiety of them.'

Vater following Σ retains ἐλαύνομεν but explains it differently. *Od.* v. 290, ἀλλ' ἔτι μέν μιν φημι ἄδην ἐλάν κακότητος, which is generally translated 'I say that I will give him his fill of calamity,' is explained in a scholium 'I say that he will *repel* calamity *ad nauseam*.' Hence Vater would translate the present passage *cum nostro taedio repulsamus (hostes)*. Σ in the same sense paraphrases πάντα κινοῦμεν πρὸς τὸ ἀποστῆσαι αὐτούς.

481. For the perfect in apodosis where the protasis refers to the

future cf. Soph. *Phil.* 75, Xen. *An.* I. 8. 12. L and P read εἰργάσμεθ' ἀν. The condition would then be ‘an unfulfilled condition referring to the past,’ and hence unsuitable to the context.

483, 4. A play on the words ἀρκεῖν and ἄρχω appears to be intended.

485. ‘But either to form a left wing or a right, or in the midst of the allies you may plant your peltasts and station your host.’ πέλτην, a line of πελτασταί. So *supra* 410. τὰς πέλτας· τουτέστιν τοὺς σὸὺς ὑπηκόους, Σ. The option refers only to the position to be occupied by the Thracians *in battle*. Their place in the camp is described *infra* 519 f.

492. ‘Against him thou canst not point thy furious spear.’ ἐντάξαι δόρυ, *to put one's spear in the way of one's opponent*; only here in this sense. Cf. the use of ἐνστάτης Soph. *Aj.* 104, ’Οδυσσέα, τὸν σὸν ἐνστάτην λέγω (where Jebb explains it as lit. *one who stands in the way*) and of ἐνστῆναι in Lysias, *Or.* 3 § 8 (cited by Jebb) εὐθύς με τύπτειν ἐπεχείρησεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡμυνάμην ἐνστάς, ... when I stood up and repelled him.

C. E. Palmer (*C. R.* vol. IV. p. 228 f.) would translate the line ‘it is not possible for him (Achilles) to interpose his furious spear,’ urging that this translation is required by the answer of Rhesus (493) ‘Well, the story was that he *had* sailed...,’ but οὐκ ἔστ’ ἐκείνῳ would be strangely used in reference to an act which depended on the will of the person concerned.

493. For the significance of καὶ μὴν...γε see on 179 *supra*.

494. μηνίων. The short penult. in pres. and impf. is generally found in Homer and occurs also in *Hipp.* 1146 (a lyrical passage).

498 ff. ‘And there is Odysseus, one mass of cunning, who is both bold enough in spirit and hath done this land more hurt than any man.’ With αἴμινδώτατον κρότημα cf. Soph. Frg. 827 (Nauck) πάνσοφον κρότημα Λαέρτου γόνος. κροτέω, *hammer*, then *weld together*, is itself used figuratively Theocr. 15. 49, ἐξ ἀπάτας κεκροτημένοι ἀνδρες. For the collocation of participle and adj. with εἰμί see note on 105. πλείστ’ ἀνήρ καθυβρίσας. Jebb, on *O. C.* 563, holds that ἀνήρ in this idiom requires the addition of εἰς (cf. *infra* 946). But in *Hec.* 310 the MSS. give θανὼν ὑπὲρ γῆς ‘Ελλάδος κάλλιστ’ ἀνήρ, and Jebb is reduced to the dangerous expedient of emending the line to κάλλιστ’ ἀνήρ εἰς ‘Ελλάδος θανὼν ὑπερ. In the present

line it has been proposed to substitute *els* for *kal* (Hermann) or for *τήνδ'* (Boissonade).

501. **σηκόν** of the temple of a divinity, cf. *Phoen.* 1751, *Suppl.* 30. The theft of the Palladium is properly, as Σ observes, a later incident in the cycle of Trojan legend than the slaughter of Rhesus. The description of Odysseus as midnight marauder provides a touch of tragic irony for the spectator who thinks of Rhesus' coming doom.

508. **ἄστεως** (LP) not **ἄστεος** (other mss.) is the correct tragic form. See L. and S. *sub vb.*

509. **μερμέρω**, in Hom. always applied to deeds of war, in which connection it occurs three times in *Il.* x. with sense 'baleful,' 'grievous,' i.e. *causing μέριμνα*. Here in its application to Odysseus the sense is probably the same.

514. **ἀμπείρας**=**ἀναπείρας**. This word is not found elsewhere in Tragedy, though it occurs in Homer, Hdt., and Ar. *Ach.* 1007; the form **ἀμ-** for **ἀνα-** before a labial is, as Eysert shows, frequent in all the Tragedians. Cf. for Eur., in trimeter passages, *Bacchae* 1107 **ἀμβάτην**, *I. T.* 92 **ἀμπνοάς**, *El.* 868 **ἀμπτυχαῖ**.

515. **θοινατήριον**, **ἄπ.** εἰρ., Rolfe cf. **θοινατήρ** Aesch. *Ag.* 1502.

520. **νυχεῦσατ**, *pass the night*; so in *El.* 181 ff., **δάκρυσι νυχεύω**, **δακρύων δέ μοι μέλει δειλαίᾳ τὸ κατ' ἡμαρ** is now read, the correction **νυχεύω** for **χεύω** (mss.) being due to Hermann.

523. **ὑμᾶς**, the chorus.

προταῖνι. Parmeniscus, according to Σ, testifies that this is a Boeotian word. It occurs nowhere else. Tr. 'in front of.'

524. **ἐγερτί**, *wakefully*: found also Soph. *Ant.* 413. The form **ἐγρηγορτί** occurs *Il.* x. 183.

525. **δέχθαι**, Musurus for the unmetrical **δέχεσθαι** of mss. The syncopated aor. form is not found elsewhere outside Homer.

526. **στρατοπέδοισι**; for the plur. used of a single camp, cf. *infra* 811 and Xen. *An.* 7, 3, 34.

527 ff. *Exeunt Hector et Rhesus*. The chorus, who have been ordered to return to their posts in front of the camp (*v.* 523), decide that their watch is now ended, and propose to rouse the Lycians who are to take the fifth and last watch. With this object they leave the orchestra (564), but before they find the Lycians they hear that enemies are in the camp. They return in haste (674) and dis-

covering Odysseus on the stage arrest him. [See *Intro.* § 1 note 4.] The passage 527–537 is based on *Il.* x. 251 ff.

ἀλλ' ἵστην μάλα γὰρ νῦξ ἀνεται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἡώς,
ἀστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρώχωκεν δὲ πλέων νῦξ
τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται.

527. ἀμείβει, ‘receives in turn,’ cf. the similar¹but intransitive use in *Or.* 1503 ἀμείβει καὶ νὺν ἐκ καὶ νῦν where the schol. paraphrases it by διαδέχεται. The meaning ‘receive in turn’ is a natural modification of the common meaning ‘take in exchange.’

528 ff. πρῶτα. I have kept the mss. reading. Lachmann followed by Nauck and Wecklein reads τίς ἀμείβει τὰν ἐμὰν πρώτα (=πρώτη) which is an exact equivalent to the antistrophe. The sense, however, of πρώτα, as Vater and Paley saw, is unsatisfactory. There is but one watch to follow, the fifth. An adjective moreover is needed with σημεῖα: stars were setting all night long and some particular reference is desirable.

πρῶτα σημεῖα is vaguely used to refer to the stars which had been prominent at the beginning of the night, or rather perhaps of the watch. For σημεῖα ‘constellations’ cf. *Ion* 1156 Τάδες, σαφέστατον σημεῖον.

ἐπτάποροι Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι. Crates (fl. c. 210 B.C.) according to Σ. took these words closely with σημεῖα, ‘The first stars *and the heavenly Pleiads* are setting,’ and objected that this could not occur at a time when Aquila is at its culmination: hence the *Rhesus* is the work of Euripides’ youth when he was still ignorant of astronomy! The correct explanation of the passage is however given by Σ. ‘The first constellations are setting, and the Pleiads are in the sky (i.e. above the horizon) and the eagle hovers midmost in heaven (i.e. is culminating).’ This astronomical reference is explained by Dr A. S. Way: ‘Aquila is high in the southern heavens and the Pleiades are well above the eastern horizon, at about 3 a.m. in the middle of June. The star referred to (537) as rising in the east might be Mira Ceti.’ **ἐπτάποροι II.** ‘the seven journeying Pleiads’; each part of the compound adj. retaining its own force; cf. πυκνόπτεροι ἀγδόνες, Soph. *O. C.* 17, with Jebb’s note. Eur. was the first extant author to speak of *seven* Pleiads (*Iph. Aul.* 7, *Or.* 1005, Frg. 779 Nauck). Only six stars are visible to the naked eye, hence Ovid’s line, ‘Quae septem dici, sex tamen esse solent.’

μέσα, adverbial, as *μέσον*, *Or.* 983.

533. **ἔξιτε.** Hartung, from *Chr. Pat.* 1855, ἔγρεσθ', ἔγρεσθε· τί γυναικες μέλλετε; **ἔξιτε.** The reading of the MSS. ἔγρεσθε not only does not correspond with the antistrophe (*v.* 552) but does not suit the context. The words are addressed by certain members of the chorus to their fellows. It would be ludicrous to suppose that these latter during the long colloquy of Hector and Rhesus had appropriated the empty beds. On the other hand *κοιτᾶν* **ἔξιτε πρὸς φυλακάν**, ‘leave the sleeping-quarters and return to your post,’ gives the sense required, and the association of ἔγρεσθε and **ἔξιτε** in the passage quoted from *Chr. Pat.* makes it probable that **ἔξιτε** is the word displaced in our MSS. by the repetition of ἔγρεσθε.

534. **μηνάδος.** *μηράς* (=μήνη) only here. For similar double forms Albert cf. *οἰνη* (*Bacch.* 535) and *οἰνάς* Ion (of Chios) ap. Athen. p. 447 D; *δειρή* Pind. *Ol.* 3. 27, *δειράς*, Soph. *Ant.* 832. It is not explained how **μηνάδος αἴγλη** proclaims the approach of dawn.

537. **προδρόμων.** The correction is due to Musgrave.

538 ff. L. Dindorf supposes that the anapaests (538–545 and 557–564) should be in strophic correspondence. If so, we must assume that a line has dropped out after 538; 539 must be emended to form a paroemiac; 561, unmetrical as given in MSS., must be altered to correspond to 541. It is to be noted, further, that the sections belonging to different speakers do not correspond. There seems therefore no need to assume strophic correspondence.

538. **ἐκηρύχθη...φυλακήν.** *κηρύσσω* is followed by an acc. of place on the analogy of verbs of motion: cf. *supra* 270 *οἱ χρῆν γεγωνεῖν*, and *Il.* II. 51 *κηρύσσειν ἀγορήνδε...Αχαιούς*.

539. **Κόροιβον** is now ascertained to be the reading of V. Coroebus is not mentioned in Homer but Mygdon appears in *Il.* III. 186, where we read of Φρύγας ἀνέρας...λαοὺς Ὀτρῆνος καὶ Μύγδονος ἀντιθέου. Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 341) speaks of ‘Coroebus | Mygdonides. Illis ad Troiam forte diebus | Venerat insano Cassandreae incensus amore | Et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat.’ In Virgil as in Euripides the Phrygians are identical with the Trojans, not as in Homer, a people in alliance with them. Mygdon and his family remain, however, allies of Priam. Hence in Virgil Coroebus *brings aid* to Priam and the Phrygians. Here he likewise figures as

an ally, and, as the Phrygians are no longer available, he is made a leader of the Paeonians. This tribe, which claimed Trojan origin, had their home in Macedonia, where the Mygdonians were their neighbours. Hence, as Vater points out, the metamorphosis of the son of Mygdon into a leader of the Paeonians is not unnatural.

540. **γάρ.** See on v. 17. The order of the watches is (1) Paeonians under Coroebus, (2) Cilicians, (3) Mysians, (4) Trojans, (5) Lycians.

545. ‘According to the appointment of the lot.’

546–550. For the story of Procne v. *Od.* xix. 518–523:

ώς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρῆς ἀηδῶν,
καλὸν ἀειδησιν ἔαρος νέον ισταμένοιο,
δευδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεξομένη πυκνοῖσιν,
ἡ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
παιᾶδ' ὄλοφυρομένη Ἰτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῷ
κτείνε δι' ἀφραδίας κοῦρον Ζῆθοιο ἀνακτος....

546 f. **Σιμόεντος** ἡμένα κοίτας ‘seated on her blood-stained nest by Simois.’ For the rare local genitive cf. Soph. *El.* 900, ἐσχάτης δὲ ὄρῳ | πυρᾶς νεώρη βόστρυχον τετμημένον, which Jebb explains as ‘developed out of the possessive (*belonging to* and so *in the region of*).’ **κοίτας** cognate accusative with ἡμένα, like δαιμόνων σέλμα ἡμένων Aesch. *Ag.* 183.

548. **πολυχορδοτάτᾳ γήρυι** ‘with voice of many tones.’ For ὑμνεῖ Σ records an ancient variant θρηνεῖ.

549. **παιδολέτωρ**, feminine as in *Med.* 1393. VLP have ἀ παιδ. the gloss having crept into the text. Heath suggested μερίμνας or μέριμναν for μέριμνα of the MSS., which is impossible. After three nominatives the error might readily have arisen.

552. **νυκτιβρόμου** for **νυκτιδρόμου** Pierson. The form is ἄπ. εἰρ.

553. **ἴαν,** *voice*, a rare word, in Tragedy only here and in Aesch. *Pers.* 936.

554. **όμματος ἔδραν**, v. *supra* 8.

556. **πρὸς ἀοῦς**, ‘towards dawn.’ The accusative is frequent in this sense, e.g. **πρὸς ἔω** Ar. *Ecccl.* 312, **πρὸς ἐσπέραν** Xen. *An.* 4, 5, 21, etc., but I have not found a parallel to the use of the genitive here. Both accusative and genitive can be used after **πρὸς** to denote spatial relation, ‘on the side of,’ ‘in the direction of.’

Blaydes, perhaps rightly, would read ἀῶ. Musgrave cites for the

sentiment Moschus II. 2, ἐγγύθι δ' ἡώς, | ὑπνος ὅτε γλυκίων μέλιτος
βλεφάροισιν ἐφίξων....

560. **ἄλλ'** ḥ, see on 36. **ἐσπαῖσας**, as being a rare word (in Tragedy only here and in Soph. *O. T.* 1252) is preferable to *eispeσών* of LP(V). The form *eispaίσας* is given by O, but the rule in Trag. is to use *ēs* before a consonant.

561. Murray, marking a change of speaker after διόλωλε and deleting *eīη*, has restored metre and sense to a perplexing passage. For **τάχ'** ḥn used absolutely, he cites Plato *Soph.* 255 C : Ξε. τί δέ; τὸ θάτερον ἀρα ἡμῖν λεκτέον πέμπτον; ἢ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ὄν ὡς δύ' ἄττα ὀνόματα ἐφ' ἐνὶ γένει διανοεῖσθαι δεῖ; Θεα. τάχ' ḥn. Similarly, *Rep.* 369 A. The construction being infrequent *eīη* would readily be added. ‘Can it be that he has rushed into a hidden ambush? Perhaps so. I fear it.’

565 ff. The stage and orchestra are now empty: enter in the darkness Odysseus and Diomedes in search of Hector's encampment.

566. **στάζει.** For its metaphorical use, in reference to *sound*, cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 136, *πραῦν δ'* Ιάσων ποτιστάζων ὄαρον.

τευχέων. ‘For the genitive plur. of the third declension in -εων Baier lays down the rule that the uncontracted form is always used in lyrics and anapaestic verses, and in trimeter iambics if the word forms a cretic, e.g. *τευχέων*. In trimeter iambics the contracted form is used when the word would otherwise be an anapaest, e.g. *δρῶν* not *όρέων*.’ Keene on Eur. *EI.* 94.

567. **ἀντύγων**, see on 118.

568. **κλάζει σιδήρου** sc. *κλαγγήν*, cf. the similar use with *δέειν* and *πνεῦν*.

571. ‘I shall be on my guard, even when stepping in the shadow.’

573. ‘I know...*having heard* it from Dolon.’ **κλύειν** is an aorist-present form [Giles, *Manual of Philology*, ed. 2, p. 489].

576. **Ἐγχος εὐλκυσταῖ.** *Ἐγχος*=*ξίφος* as in Soph. *Ant.* 1236, etc. For *Ἐλκω* of *drawing a sword* cf. id. 1233.

577. The spies have now reached Hector's quarters, following the instructions extorted from Dolon. They are surprised to find the beds empty and assume that the whole company has departed. For the *λόχος* of Hector cf. v. 26.

586. **μολόντε.** The correction is due to Canter.
 589. **μολεῖν**, see on 157.
 590. **νεώτερον** ‘startling.’ *νέον* and *νεώτερον* are often used in Attic in a euphemistic sense.

594. **πείθεις.** MSS. have *πείθου* and give the line to Odysseus. Wilamowitz emends on the ground that ‘secundum tragoeiae consuetudinem Diomedes cedere se Ulixis rationibus diserte debebat pronuntiare.’

τυχεῖν, L and P, supported by *Chr. Pat.* 2009, 2038; *τύχη* (V) is supposed by Vater to have arisen from a reading *εὖ δοτη τύχη*: cf. *Eur. Al.* 1004.

595. For the intransitive use of *λείπω* Musgrave cites Thuc. 5. 4, *ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ Συρακούσων*. But it is possible to supply *αὐτάς* and take *ἐκ τάξεων* with *χωρεῖτε*.

601 f. After *οὐ σχέθοι μὴ οὐ*, not *μὴ*, would be regular and is read here by Nauck, but cf. *O. T.* 1387 *οὐκ ἀν ἐσχόμην | τὸ μὴ ποκλῆσαι τούμὸν ἀθλιον δέμας*: also *Aj.* 96, *Ant.* 443, etc. **σφε** is occasionally used in Tragedy (as here) for the singular personal pronoun, masculine or feminine.

612. **πόθεν**, lit. ‘starting from what point,’ implies ‘in what direction.’ The line is thus not a mere repetition of the previous one. Paley cites Soph. *O. C.* 505 for a similar use of *ἐκεῦθεν*, where to the inquiry *τὸν τόπον δ’ ἵνα | χρήσει μ’ ἐφευρεῖν, τοῦτο βούλομαι μαθεῖν*, the answer is *τούκεῦθεν ἄλσους*, *on the further side of the grove*, and *Cycl.* 681 where a question *ποτέρας τῆς χερός*; answered by *ἐν δεξιᾷ σου*, is followed by a demand for more precise information, *ποῦ;* The same use of *πόθεν* recurs *infra* 695.

615. **ἀμειψηται**, ‘till night pass into day,’ cf. *Plato, Apol.* 37 D, *εξ ἀλλης ἀλλην πόλεως ἀμειψομένω.*

623. **πάρες γε.** Reiske’s *παράσχες* is not needed, for *γε* is regularly used after the more emphatic of two alternatives: cf. *Il.* x. 480, *ἄλλὰ λύ’ ἵππους· | ήὲ σύ γ’ ἄνδρας ἔναιρε, μελήσουσιν δ’ ἐμοὶ ἵπποι.*

626. For the ‘gnome’ cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 1431, *ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἔκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην*, *Hor. Epist.* 1. 14. 44, *quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem.* At this point Odysseus leaves the stage: the actor taking his part reappears as Paris at *v. 642*. Hence Athene uses the singular in *vv. 634, 636*, as addressing Diomedes only.

629. **μεμβλωκότων**, a Homeric form (*Od.* xvii. 190) found nowhere else in Attic.

633. **ὑπάρχειν**, ‘ought he not then *to be the first to die*,’ i.e. before the Thracians. It is true however, as Paley observes, that *ὑπάρχω* with a participle in the sense ‘make a beginning in...’ usually suggests that the act to which reference is made is followed by acts of reprisal, an implication not present here.

635. **θανεῖν** is the reading of O. **κτανεῖν** was given by VLP. In the next line **φίπερ** is a correction by a later hand in P; the MSS. give **ώσπερ**: but, as noted above, *ι* and *σ* are frequently confused.

639. **σαθροῖς** means *rotten, unsound*. The particular kind of unsoundness depends upon the context. Here it is *deceit* as in *Bacchae* 487, *τοῦτ' ἐστι γυναικας δόλιον καὶ σαθρόν*. In *Hec.* 1190 the λόγοι **σαθροί** are *unconvincing arguments*.

640. ‘And though I have said all this, yet he (Paris) with whom I must deal knows not, nor has heard aught, though near to our conversation.’ Diomedes might naturally fear that Paris, who is approaching, overheard the words of Athena. **εἰπον**, ‘instantaneous’ aor. ; see on 280. **παθεῖν** has often a neutral sense ‘to be affected by an action.’ For **λόγου** see on 149. Diomedes now departs to slay Rhesus.

648. **τιμῆς**, an allusion to the judgment of Paris, again referred to in v. 655.

649 f. ‘And now to crown the success of the Trojan host, I am come bringing thee a powerful friend.’ **μέγας φίλος** like the Lat. *magnus amicus*.

654 f. ‘And I say that, by giving judgment in thy favour, I have bestowed upon this city the greatest treasure that ever I brought her.’ **ἐν βίῳ**=‘during my life.’ **κρίνας**=*προκρίνας* as in *Tro.* 928, “Ηρα δ' ὑπέσχετ' Ἀσιάδ' Εὐρώπης θ' ὄρους | τυραννίδ' ἔξειν εἴ σφε κρίνετεν Ηάρης.

658 f. ‘And one man, who did not see them, talks of them, while he who saw them coming can give no account of them.’ The difference between **λέγω** and **φράζω** is to be noted. Recent editors rightly put a colon at **φράσαι**. ‘It is Paris himself who has come to Hector’s tent ; he does not know that the spies have been there.

660. **ηλυθον** is 1st person : the Homeric form is found in trimeters in *El.* 598, *Tro.* 374. **οὐνεκα**, when a preposition, is

altered by some editors to *είνεκα*: but *ούνεκα*, according to Kühner, *Gk Gr.* § 325. 10, is the form most frequently employed by the Tragic writers.

662. **κοιμήσων** (the reading of V and O, for which L and P have *κοσμήσων*), ‘assign a resting-place to’: lit. *lay to rest*. In 138 *κοίμα* is read by conjecture where MSS. give *κόσμει*.

667. A fine example of tragic irony.

668. Athene now turns to Odysseus and Diomedes, who have slain Rhesus and are in possession of his chariot. She bids them flee, for the guards are returning. *έρρωμένους*, *vehement*, *eager*, cf. Thuc. 2. 8, *έρρωτο πᾶς εἴ τι δύναιτο συνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς*.

672. Cf. *Il.* x. 509, *νόστον δὴ μνῆσαι, μεγαθύμου Τυδέος νιέ,* | *νῆσας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς, μὴ καὶ πεφοβημένος ἔλθης,* | *μὴ πού τις καὶ Τρῶας ἐγείρησσι θεὸς ἄλλος.*

673 f. **όλκούς**, v. *supra* 146. *μέλλετε σῶσαι* is a rare construction, *μέλλω*, *delay*, usually taking the present infinitive; but cf. *Phoen.* 300, *τί μέλλεις...θιγεῖν ὠλέναισιν τέκνου*.

675. V and O wrongly prefix to this line a note, *chorus of Lycians*. The chorus is of course the same from beginning to end of the play: see *vv.* 820–832. For the dramatic situation implied in *vv.* 675–691 v. Intro. § 1.

677. **αὐδῶ**, ‘I mean him.’ Cf. *Hipp.* 352, *Ιππόλυτον αὐδᾶς*;

682. **λόχος**, ‘what is your *company*?’ so V and O: *λόγος* (L and P) is explained by Vater ‘what is the watchword?’

685. **ἴστω**, Portus; but the verse cannot be correct as it stands and none of the corrections is satisfactory. Wilamowitz compounds a trochaic verse out of 680 and 685, which he would place after 679: *δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς ἵτω* [MSS. *ἴστω*]. ’Οδ. θάρσει. Χο. πέλας ἵθι παῖε πᾶς. But this correction would add a second to the one certain instance in Tragedy of a trochaic tetrameter lacking the diaeresis after the fourth foot (v. Soph. *Phil.* 1402, with Jebb’s note).

686. Following Murray I regard the part of the line spoken by the chorus as an interrupted sentence. ‘Didst thou slay Rhesus?’ asks Odysseus; ‘No,’ answers the chorus, ‘but as for thee who wast about to slay him....’

693. **Θρασύς**, Madvig. MSS. give *τίς ὁ μέγα θράσος*. Vater reads *τίς δὲ μέγα θράσος*, the art. being used for rel. pron. and hence accented. So also Wecklein, although the latter emended *Hipp.* 525

'Ἐρως δὲ κατὰ ὄμμάτων στάζεις πόθον by reading *στάζων*. On the other hand Murray retains the MSS. reading in *Hipp.* 525, but accepts *θρασύς* in the present passage. Matthiae (*Gr. Gram.* § 292) limits the use of art. = rel. pron. in Tragedy to those parts of the article beginning with a consonant. Paley and Nauck give *τίς ὁ μέγα θράσος*, reading *κατὰ πτόλιν* with L and P (where V and O have *πόλιν*), in the antistrophe (v. 711).

695. *πόθεν*, in what direction? see *supra* 612.

701. *νησιώτην σποράδα βίον*, 'a lonely island life.' For adjectival use of *νησιώτην* Paley cites *Herac.* 84, οὐ νησιώτην, ὡς ξένοι, *τριβῶ βίον, σποράδα*, i.e. the life of one who is not a member of a community. Arist. *Pol.* 1. 2. 7 says *σποράδες τὸ ἀρχαῖον φύκουν*. The combination denotes that the life is lonely because lived in one of the islands scattered through the Aegean. One group of these is called the Sporades. Paley remarks on the contempt with which islanders were regarded by the inhabitants of the mainland. He cites *Androm.* 14, where the heroine complains she has been assigned *τῷ νησιώτῃ Νεοπτολέμῳ, δορὸς γέρας*. Like the Locrians and Thessalians, here joined with them, they had a reputation for piracy.

702. The reading in the text is due to Hermann, cf. the corresponding portion of the antistrophe v. 720. In the next line δ' has been inserted after *ποῖον* by Porson.

705. *τί μήν*; 'assuredly': an elliptical expression, lit. *how indeed (otherwise)?* equivalent in meaning to the full form *τί μήν οὐ*; which is found in the next verse.

706. *γάρ*, see on 17.

708. *'Οδυσσῆ* (so in Pindar, *Nem.* 8. 26), cf. *'Αχιλῆ*, *El.* 439.

710. *πάρος*. For the 'anachronism' see on 501 *supra*.

711. *ὑπαφρον* (so accented) is from *ὑπαφρος* which according to a scholion in L refers strictly to *sunken rocks* 'under the foam' and hence means ὁ μὴ φανερός. Hesychius adds a second interpretation *τὸ ὑγρασίαν ἔχον ἐμφερῆ ἀφρῷ*. L. and S. would translate it here *dim with tears*; Paley, *treacherous or blear-eyed*. *ὑπάφρον* (from *ὑπάφρων*) was a variant reading, for the scholion in L, cited above, proceeds ἦ ὁ καταπληκτικός, ὁ μανικός. *ὑπάφρων* occurs (in the comparative) *Hdt.* 4. 95.

712. *ῥακόδυτος ἀπ. εἰρ.*, but *ῥακοδύτης* is found in St Chrysostom.

713 f. **ξιφήρης...πέπλοις**, ‘armed with a sword, concealed in his cloak.’ The phrase however implies that the *sword* was hidden beneath his clothes. **κρύφιος** (for *κρυφαῖος*), Morstadt, cf. strophe v. 696.

715. **ἐπαιτῶν**, which generally has the meaning *asking in addition*, here signifies ‘begging’ as in Soph. *O. C.* 1364 *ἄλλους ἐπαιτῶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίου.*

719. ‘Spoke ill against the Royal Halls of the Atreidae.’ For the constr. *βάζειν τινά τι* cf. *Hipp.* 118, *εἰ τις σ' ὑφ' ἥβης...μάταια βάζει.* For the ironical particle *δῆθεν* standing first in a subordinate clause, Paley cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 986, Soph. *Trach.* 382.

720. **πανδίκως**, *as he deserves.* There is no authority for *πανδίκως=πάντως*.

724. **δυσοίζων**, see on 805 *infra.*

725. **δράσας** (Wilamowitz) is just as likely to have given rise to the MSS. reading *δρᾶς* as Dindorf’s *δρᾶσαι* which is read by most editors; it gives a somewhat better sense.

730. **ὑφίζ· λισως**, Reiske. **βόλον**, *net*; cf. *Bacch.* 848 *ἀνὴρ ἐς βόλον καθίσταται*, and Hesychius’ gloss *βόλος· δίκτυον.*

731. The text follows Hermann’s correction.

737. **ἀμβλώψ**, *ἄπ. εἰρ.* Rolfe cf. *ἀμβλωπός*, Aesch. *Eum.* 956.

738. **Τρφών**, Hermann for **Τρωικών**. There is no certain instance in Trag. of *ω* before a vowel in the same word. **πατρῷος**, with short penult, given a few times in MSS. of Eur. may be corrected to **πάτριος** which is used in the same sense. See Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 1099 where MSS. give *τοῦ λέφονος δαίμονος*.

740. ‘*Sleeps his arm'd sleep*,’ L. and S. **κοῖτον** (= *a lying down*) is a cognate acc. with *ιανεῖ* which properly means *to pass the night*. Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1203 *οὕτ' ἐννυχίαν τέρψιν ιανεῖν*, with Jebb’s note.

744. **τολυπεύσας** here only after Homer though Albert cites *ἐκτολυπεύσειν* from Aesch. *Ag.* 1032. The literal meaning is ‘to wind off wool for spinning.’ Hesychius explains its metaphorical use by *κατεργασάμενος*.

746. **οῖα...κλύων**=*τοιαῦτα γὰρ τοῦδε κλύων γιγνώσκω* (*τοῦτο*).

756 f. See on 102 *supra*.

762. ‘**Ἐκτόρεια χείρ**, Dindorf. For ‘*Ἐκτόρεια* compare Ar. *Eccl.* 1029 ‘*καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνάγκη μούστι;*’ ‘*Διομήδειά γε.*’ Soph. *Fr.* 758

(Dindorf) : 'Τπέρεια κρήνη νάμα θεοφιλέστατον. λέξας in the next line is to be taken κατὰ σύνεσιν with 'Εκτόρεια χείρ.

763. πεδοστιβεῖς : 'we were sleeping *on our feet*.' There is no need to change this to πεδοστιβῆ as is done by many editors, cf. 769.

766. πλῆκτρα, *goads*. It was customary to hang the goad on the yoke for greater convenience in emergencies : cf. *Il.* xxiii. 510, where Diomedes κλῦνε...μάστιγα ποτὶ ξυγόν. Euripides, in representing this precaution as neglected on the present occasion, has taken a hint from Homer, who (*Il.* x. 500) describes Odysseus as τόξῳ ἐπιπλήσσων, ἐπεὶ οὐ μάστιγα φαενὴν | ποικίλου ἐκ δίφροι νοήσατο χερσὶν ἐλέσθαι.

772. ἀλκή, 'battle': *Sapph.* 683, συνῆψαν ἀλκὴν κάκρατον ἡσσῶντό τε. As Vater notes, the poet of the *Rhesus*, like Homer, is unaware of the legend that Troy could not be taken if the steeds of Rhesus had eaten of Trojan fodder. Vergil alludes to it, *Aen.* i. 473.

776. ἥπυστα. This word is not found elsewhere in Tragic senarii. For the constr. cf. *Bacch.* 984, μαινάσιν δ' ἀπύσει, τίς ὅδε... ἐς ὄρος ἔμολεν;

777. δοκήσας, the regular form of the aor. is only found in poetry and late prose.

778. τὰ πλείονα, 'and I said no more.' The words are usually explained as meaning 'the further observations I might have made.' So Jebb, on Soph. *Ph.* 576 μὴ νῦν μ' ἔργη τὰ πλείονα, regards them as equivalent to 'the further details N. might wish to learn,' comparing *O. C.* 36 πρὶν νῦν τὰ πλείον' *ἰστορεῖν*. It has, however, been pointed out by Prof. J. I. Beare (*Hermathena* xxxvi. p. 108) that this explanation cannot hold in *Ant.* 313 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ αἰσχρῶν λημμάτων τὸν πλείονας | ἀτωμένους ἴδοις ἀν ἦ σεσωσμένους where "if we rendered 'ill-gotten gain brings the majority (i.e. of those who partake of it) to ruin rather than to weal,' we should find ourselves compelled to supply μᾶλλον or some such word in the Greek before ἦ to make up the needs of the logic; and this is extremely awkward and almost certainly wrong." He cf. *O. C.* 796 κάκ' ἀν λάβοις τὰ πλείον' ἦ σωτήρια, Eur. *Hipp.* 471 ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ τῶν κακῶν ἔχεις, Galen 869 (*Thrasybulus* xxxii.) τῆς 'Ατθίδος δ' αὖ γιγνώσκειν τὰ πλείω ἦ ἀγνοεῖν ὄμολογήσαιμ' ἀν. These examples incline him to hold that 'the comparative adjective with the article is used here exactly as if it were without it.'

780. δόξα, ‘a vision,’ cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 420, δνειρόφαντοι δόξαι. For the expression cf. Soph. *O. T.* 911 δόξα μοι παρεστάθη, though there δόξα merely means ‘a thought,’ ‘fancy.’

781. The order is εἶδον...λύκους ἐπεμβ. ἵππ...έδραλαν ράχν, the construction being that known to grammarians as σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. ὡς ὄναρ δοκῶν = ὡς ἐν δνείρατι ἐδόκουν ὥραν : for in my dream I seemed to see them. έδραῖος here only in sense of ‘affording a seat,’ but in Xen. *Eg.* 5. 5 that part of the back of a horse on which the saddle lies is called ἡ έδρα.

785. ἀντηρίδων, properly *props, supports* (for which see L. and S.). Suidas also glosses it θυρᾶ (a window). Here, if correct, it must mean *nostrils*. So Σ, ἐκ τῶν μυκτήρων ποιὸν ἥχον ἀπετέλουν. Musgrave wished to read ἀρτηριῶν ‘windpipe,’ citing Soph. *Trach.* 1054 (of the Nessus-shirt), πνεύμονός τ’ ἀρτηρίας ροφεῖ ξυνοικοῦν.

790 f. ‘And from my master as he lay in agony, wounded to death, the stream of fresh blood smites me.’ I read with Hermann πάρα for παρὰ of the MSS. The order will then be θερμὸς δὲ κρούνος αἷματος νέου, παρὰ δεσπότου δυσθνήσκοντος σφαγαῖς, βάλλει με. In σφαγαῖς the notions of *slaughter* and of *a wound* may both be present (see L. and S. *sub vb.*). Paley who retains the reading of the MSS. takes παρὰ σφαγαῖς δεσπότου and explains ‘by my slaughtered master.’ He maintains that for the sense ‘issuing from’ ἐκ not παρά is required. But this objection does not hold in the case of *persons*.

δυσθνήσκοντος: cf. *El.* 843 δυσθνῆσκον. These forms are contrary to analogy. Compound verbs (except those consisting of a simple verb and a preposition) are formed only from compound nouns or adjectives and end in -έω. Nauck therefore reads δυσθνητοῦντος here and δυσθνητοῦν in *El.* 843, though these forms are nowhere actually extant. Another irregular formation δυσοίζω is found in this play (*vv. 724, 805*) and in Aesch. *Ag.* 1316.

793 f. ‘And as I strove to catch sight of my spear and was hunting after it, there stood beside me a sturdy fellow who smites me with his sword in the belly at the side.’ παίει με νεῖραν : another instance of the constr. noted *supra* 781 f. νεῖραν is Bothe’s correction for the unmetrical reading of the MSS., νείραν. Hesychius has the glosses νεῖρη· κοιλία ἐσχάτη and νεῖραι· κατώταται, and editors since Casaubon have read νεῖρη (νείρει MSS.) in Aesch. *Ag.* 1479. νείρα, *the abdomen*, is cited from Hippocrates. *Chr. Pat.*,

1213, has *νύσσει παραστὰς νειάτην πλευράν*. *νειάτην* Musgrave regarded as originally a gloss on *νεῖραν*, for Eustathius on *L.* v. 539 explains *νειάραν* by *νειάτην*. *πλευροῦ* which is given by L and P for *πλευράν* may have arisen through a misunderstanding of the construction. For the scene cf. (with Patin) Verg. *Aen.* ix. 345 sq. (the slaughter of Rhoetus by Euryalus), Pectore in adverso totum cui cominus ensem | condidit assurgentis.

805. **δυσοίζουν**: ‘*Do not be distressed*; an enemy hath done this.’ The word only occurs here, *supra* 714 and Aesch. *Ag.* 1316, *οὐτοὶ δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὅρνις φόβῳ*. Hesychius who recognises both act. and middle explains it as *φοβεῖσθαι, ὑπονοεῖν, δυσχεραίνειν*.

The reading in the text is due to Murray. The mss. give *μηδὲν δυσοίζου πολεμίους δρᾶσαι τάδε*, which does not yield the sense required. Most editors have accepted Musgrave’s *μηδὲν δυσοίζ’ οὐ πολεμίους δρᾶσαι τάδε* ‘do not be distressed into thinking that any one but an enemy has done this.’ This hardly suits what immediately follows: ‘and Hector himself is also coming, having learnt of thy misfortune.’ Murray’s reading supplies a sharper contrast between the actions of the enemy and of Hector. If “*δρᾶσαν* were to become *δρᾶσαι*, as it readily might, *πολέμιοι* would be altered to *πολεμίους* to correspond. *πολέμιοι δρῶσιν*, Lenting.

806. **συμφορᾶς**. Paley reads *συμφοράς*, but for the gen. of the thing heard instead of the more usual acc. cf. Soph. *El.* 35, *χρῆ μοι τοιαῦθ’ ὁ Φοῖβος ὡν πεύσει τάχα*: *Od.* i. 281, ii. 255.

811. **ἐξαπώσατε**. This word is open to criticism (1) on account of its form, for *ωθέω* in Attic should take the syllabic augment. The unaugmented form belongs to the Homeric and Ionic dialects, and to post-classical writers, though Eustathius cites it from Sophocles (Frag. 438, Nauck) *οὐ λιμὸν οὔτος τῶνδ’ ἀπώσει*: (2) it does not suit the second alternative *οὐτ’ ἐξιόντας*. These latter words however may be an afterthought carelessly added by Hector in his indignation at the escape of the spies after the mischief they have wrought. Wecklein and J. I. Beare (*Hermathena* xxx. p. 79) have independently suggested *ἐξοπώπατε have descried*. But there are too many Homeric forms in the *Rhesus* to make emendation on this ground safe.

812. **τίσει** (more correctly written *τείσει*) L, P. It is read by all mss. in 894; V has here the more commonplace *δώσει*.

816. ὁμώμοσται is the reading of the MSS. which I have followed Nauck in retaining. Most editors give ὁμώμοται which is found in Aesch. *Ag.* 1284. But ὁμώμοσται occurs in Arist. *Rhet.* I. 15. 27, and ὡμόσθητης is cited from Xenophon and Hypereides and ὁμοσθήτεται from Andocides.

817. ήτοι...γε. See on 623 *supra*.

With καρανιστής (ἄπ. εἰρ.) Rolfe cf. καρανιστήρ Aesch. *Eum.* 186.

819. τὸ μηδὲν, 'a cipher': so Eur. *El.* 370.

820-4. 'O thou Guardian Power of the state, mighty, mighty in my sight, surely it was then they came (sc. οἱ κατάσκοποι) when I went to bring thee news that fires were blazing round the ships.'

The reading in the text, which is due to Wilamowitz, involves a very slight alteration of the MSS. readings (see crit. note) and gives an exact correspondence with the strophe (455 ff.). Verrall suggested μετὰ σέ, μή, μετὰ σέ, meaning (I presume) 'perchance it was in search of thee they came' (for this 'independent' use of μή cf. 115 *supra*). Prof. Murray reading μετὰ σέ, ναὶ, μετὰ σέ, renders in his translation 'It was for thee...I must have gone... That time with message that the fires were burning.' But a definite reference to the *coming of the spies* is desirable. This is provided by the readings both of Wilamowitz and Verrall but the former seems preferable, as the *purpose* of the spies is really irrelevant, the leader being only concerned to account for their unobserved entry and departure.

πολιοχον (given by O in 166 where see note) is Vater's correction for **πολιοῦχον** which does not accord with the antistrophe (*supra* 454). In 824 ναῦς πύρ' αἴθειν is the correction of Kirchhoff and Badham. The MSS. have ναυσὶ πυραλθεῖν Ἀργείων στρατόν, a reminiscence of v. 41, which violates the strophic correspondence. αἴθειν intransitive here, as in Soph. *Aj.* 286, λαμπτῆρες οὐκέτ' ἥθον.

826. ἔβριξ'. *I fell asleep.* The aor. only here in Attic (ἀποβρίξαντες, *Od.* IX. 151). ἔβρισ', given by V, would be aor. of βρίθω *I am heavy.* This latter word, though connected with the former, is not used of sleep.

827. οὐ τὰς Σιμοεντιάδας. Hermann, for the sake of the strophic correspondence (cf. *supra* 461); he has introduced the same form, nowhere actually found, on the same grounds in

Tro. 1116. The omission of the particle (*μά*) is not infrequent in negative oaths.

828. **ἄνα.** The usual form of the vocative *ἄναξ* is given by L and P, but violates the strophic correspondence (cf. 462 *supra*). Elsewhere *ἄνα* is only used in invocation of the gods (just as in English, while Sir is a common term of respect, Sire is a form of address reserved for Kings) yet the exceptional use here may be deliberate. The chorus, in their agony of shame and fear, are prepared to go any length in deprecating Hector's wrath. They have already addressed him as *πολιόχον κράτος*, but *πολιοῦχος* was a frequent epithet of deities, especially of Pallas Athene, and familiar as such to an Athenian audience. In moments of enthusiasm the chorus have a weakness for exaggerated language. Cf. their welcome of Rhesus (342–387) whom they address as *Ζεὺς ὁ φανατός*, as *μέγας βασιλεύς* and *πολιαρχος* (with which cf. 820) and at the end of their ode hail as *θεὸς αὐτὸς Ἀρῆς*.

829. Some words have dropped out here: cf. 463. Nauck restores *πάντων πάντη γέγωγε*.

830. **εἰ** with subj. in future conditions is an Epic idiom occasionally found in Attic poetry. Soph. *O. C.* 1443, *δυστάλαινα τᾶρ' ἔγώ, εἰ σοῦ στερηθῶ*: *O. T.* 198, *εἴ τι νὺξ ἀφῆ* on which Jebb has collected other instances. For the Homeric use see Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 292.

837. **δεῖ** is sometimes found with a genitive and accusative instead of the usual genitive and dative.

838. ‘whereby to persuade me that you did not slay your friends.’ The construction is analogous to *πείθειν τινά τι*. Cf. Plato *Apol.* 37 A, *πέπεισμαι ἔγώ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τοῦτο οὐ πείθω*.

848. **τῶν σῶν**, *your own* allies, i.e. other than the Thracians. **ῶν** Bothe. The constr.=*μολόντων τῶν πολεμίων* (gen. abs.) **ῶν** (attracted relative) *λέγεις*.

849. **δ' ἐκάς**, Murray for **δὲ καὶ**. It adds greater emphasis to the statement to say ‘we, *though far away* (cf. 846), have been wounded.’ If the emendation is correct it is another instance of the confusion in mss. of *σ* and *ι*. The comparative form *μειζόνως* is found *Hec.* 1121; cf. *Iph. Aul.* 379 *σωφρονεστέρως*.

852. **ἄν.** MSS. have *αῦ* but Σ annotates: *τὸ ἔξῆς, τίς ἄν κατ'* *εὐφρόνην τῶν πολεμίων μολὼν Ρήσου χαμεύνας ἔξεντρεν*;

853 f. A piece of Tragic irony; the charioteer speaking in bitter sarcasm has stated the actual fact.

859 f. *ἐν σοὶ δ' ἀν ἀρχομεσθα*, sc. *πλημμελέσ τι κλύων*. *ἐν σοὶ* in thy case, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1315, *ἐν ἐμοὶ θρασύς*. *ἀρχομεσθα ἄν*. The potential optative expresses what may hereafter prove to be true (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 238). Nauck adopting *ἄρ*' for *ἄν* from the Ambrosian palimpsest conjectures *ἐν σοὶ δ' ἄρ*' *ἀρχώμεσθα*; 'are we then to make a beginning in thy case?'

Mr F. B. Jevons (*C. R.* vi. 327) silently adopting Nauck's reading finds a further difficulty in Hector's saying 'never may such a passion for horses seize upon me that I should slay a friend (*φίλον*)'—'since Rhesus is dead and the horses far out of reach.' Hence he suggests *μή μ' ἔρως ἔχει...φίλον*; But nothing is more natural than for an accused person, in protesting his innocence of the crime imputed to him, to exclaim indignantly 'God forbid that such an idea should ever enter my mind.'

864. *κατακτάνῃ*, 'may prove to have slain Dolon.' Attic idiom would require in this sense *κατεκτόνῃ* (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 103). *κατέκτονε* (for the form cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 587) would be correct in the sense 'has slain Dolon.' The aor. subj. however is occasionally used in Homer, after verbs of fearing, of that which 'may prove to have already happened' (Goodwin § 93), as *Il.* x. 98, *καταβήσομεν μὴ...κοιμήσωνται ἀτὰρ φυλακῆς...λάθωνται*. *Id.* 538 (Nestor speaking of Diomedes and Odysseus), *ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δεῖδοκα κατὰ φρένα μή τι πάθωσιν*. From this latter passage probably both the sentiment and construction of the present verse have been taken.

866. The 'sigmatism' of this line may be intentional, as suggesting anger and contempt.

869. For the sentiment Patin well compares the famous Vergilian line (*Aen.* x. 782): *et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos*.

871. *δή* for *δέ*, Porson.

873. *αὐθεντῶν*. F. Skutsch has an interesting account of this word in *Glotta* III. 4 (1912). Here it means 'murderer' in the sense of *one who did the deed with his own hands* as opposed to *φονεύς* who may be an indirect author of a murder, as Lysias (13. 53) calls Agoratus *φονεύς* of persons whom he had denounced to the Thirty. For the use of *αὐθέντης* here Skutsch cites Hdt. i. 117, Eur. *H. F.* 1359, and compares such words as *αὐτόπτης*, *αὐτήκοος*, *αὐτοῦργος*.

The oldest meaning of the word is *murderer of oneself* or of *one's own* which appears e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 212, ὅμαιμος αὐθέντης φόνος. αὐθέντης Skutsch derives from αὐτὸς and θείω with loss of a syllable by ‘dissimilation.’ αὐθέντης also acquired the sense ‘master,’ a meaning which prevailed in later Greek (but cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 442, δῆμος αὐθέντης χθονός) and survives in mod. Greek ἀφέντης, whence the Turkish *efendi*.

874-8. For a suggestive interpretation of this passage, communicated by Prof. G. Norwood, see *Appendix*.

878. πορσύνετε, *tend*, generally of things, to *see after*, but found in Apollonius Rhodius several times of persons as here: a frequent use with the form πορσαίνω as Pind. *Ol.* vi. 33, πορσάνειν δόμεν Εἰλατίδᾳ βρέφος.

879. τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει: the king and elders of Troy; a reference to the *τειχοσκοπία* (*Il.* III.)—Vater.

881. λεωφόρου, the Att. form, is restored by Vater for the unmetrical λāo- of MSS. λαοφόρους, read by V., is an unsuitable epithet for ἑκτροπάς which means *open* spaces by the roadside where the traveller may ‘turn off.’ Θάπτειν with πρός as implying motion. Vater cites Dem. p. 1320, 21, ἀπόδοτέ μοι [τὴν μητέρα] θάψαι εἰς τὰ πατρῷα μνήματα.

κελεύθουν, Dobree for κελεύειν which involves a clumsy circumlocution; θάπτειν κελεύθουν might easily be corrupted by a careless scribe into θάπτειν κελεύειν. For the phrase cf. Theocr. 25. 155: λαοφόρου ἐπέβησαν...κελεύθουν. Paley cites *Alc.* 855 for a reference to burying by the wayside.

883. ‘restores Troy to her sorrows.’ ἀνάγει, the reading of the Ambrosian palimpsest: the other MSS. give ἄγει *contra metrum*.

884. δαίμων ἄλλος, euphemistic, in contradistinction to δαίμων ὁ μεθ' ήμῶν, *infra* 996. At this point the Muse appears ἀπὸ μηχανῆς bearing the body of Rhesus.

887. νεόκμητον, *just dead*. οἱ καμόντες = those who have done their work, i.e. the dead. Hence νεόκμητος here will be an instance of a verbal in -tos used actively (see on 360f.). Elsewhere the compound is passive ‘new made.’ Haun. gives νεόδμητος as does *Chr. Pat.* 1456. With this we might compare phrases like ζῶντες καὶ διαθέντες (*Tro.* 175).

890. σοφοῖς, *poets*, as frequently in Pindar.

895. ιαλέμω αὐθιγενεῖ· τῷ εὐθὺς γενομένῳ θρήψ, Σ. This interpretation is in accordance with the other examples of the word (see L. and S. *sub vb.*) which properly means *born on the spot*. We might translate *unpremeditated*. Others infer from ‘born on the spot’ the meaning *unaffected, genuine*.

897 f. οἵαν ἔκελσας ὄδόν: ‘What a voyage didst thou make to Troy !’ For the loose cognate accusative cf. *supra* 740.

900 f. ἀπομεμφομένας, ‘though I blamed thee bitterly’; ἀπὸ strengthens the sense of the simple verb. But it is probable that we should read ἀπὸ μὲν φαμένας with Dindorf. ἀπό would then have a privative force as it has in the next line. ἀπὸ δ' ἀντομένου: no ἀπάντεσθαι occurs elsewhere but ἀντομαι=ἀντιάζω, *entreat*, is frequent.

906 ff. ‘My curse on Oeneus’ grandson, my curse on Laertes’ son, who robbed me of a child, the best that ever mother bore ; and on her who left a Grecian home and yielded to a Phrygian paramour and sailed hither, where she brought thee to destruction for Troy’s sake, child of my love ; and cities numberless she hath bereft of their bravest.’

Diomedes was son of Tydeus, son of Oeneus.

909. ἀριστοτόκοιο=ἀρίστου τόκου in apposition to γέννας: so in *Or.* 964, καλλίπαιος=καλὴ παῖς in apposition to θεά, and in *Soph. Phil.* 1338 ἀριστόμαντις=ἀριστος μάντις in apposition to “Ελένος.

910 ff. “Ελλᾶνα. Badham for ‘Ελένα which would violate the strophic correspondence. In 912 ὅπου is Wilamowitz’ emendation for ὑπ’ Ἰλίῳ (cf. strophe *v.* 901). ὑπ’ Ἰλίῳ may well have been a gloss on ὅπου which suits the allusive character of the passage. σ’ ἔκατι Bruhn, for σὲ κατὰ, which is faulty both in sense and rhythm.

913. μυριάδας here adjectival, for which use Murray cites Corinna (*Berl. Kl. Text.* v. 2, p. 28).

916. Φιλάμμονος παῖ. Thamyris. Philammon, son of Apollo, was, according to the myth, himself a poet, and established choruses of girls in the worship of Apollo at Delphi. The story of Thamyris’ defeat is given in *Il.* II. 594, Μοῦσαι | ἀντόμεναι Θάμνριν τὸν Θρῆκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς· | στεῦντο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν εἴπερ ἂν αὐτὰν | Μοῦσαι ἀελδοιεν.... | ai δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν | θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστίν.

922. The gold-mines of Pangaeum are mentioned also by Herodotus (vii. 112).

924. *σοφιστής*, poet, first in Pindar *Isth.* v. 28. *κάτυφλώσαμεν* Haun. *κάκτυφλώσαμεν*, VLP (which Murray retains). On the omission of the syllabic augment in trimeters Matthiae has an exhaustive note. (*Gk Gramm.* § 100 obs.) His conclusion is that ‘the poets seem to have availed themselves of this licence only in the narrative of messengers and at the beginning of a trimeter or if in the middle of a trimeter at the beginning of a proposition.’ Twenty-nine cases he finds to support his rule. The exceptions other than this passage number four. Aesch. *Cho.* 930, *κάνες γ' ὅν οὐ χρῆν καὶ τὸ μὴ χρεών πάθε.* (Here it is easy to read *ἔκανες* with Pauw.) Soph. *Phil.* 371...*πλησίον γὰρ ὡν κύρει* (where Jebb reads *κυρεῖ* with Porson), Eur. *Alc.* 839, *'Ηλεκτρυώνος γείνατ'* 'Αλκμήνη Διτ. Here Wilamowitz would read *'Ηλεκτρυώνη γείνατ'* κ.τ.λ. *Hec.* 580, *τοιάδ' ἀμφὶ σῆς λέγον παιδός*: but here the preponderance of MSS. authority is in favour of *λέγων*. It would appear therefore safer to accept Matthiae's canon and read *κάτυφλώσαμεν* here. The scribe may have carelessly written κ three times instead of twice in the phrase *Θρηκὶ κάτυφλώσαμεν*.

926. *τίκτω.* The time to which *τίκτω* refers is indicated as past by the tense of *ἡκα*, cf. *Bacch.* 2, *Διόνυσος ὅν τίκτει ποθ'* ή *Κάδμου κόρη | Σεμέλη λοχευθεῖσ' ἀστραπηφόρω πυρί.*

928. *βρότειον* Elmsley *metri gratia*.

933. *ἀλκὰς κορύσσοντ'*, marshalling battles, cf. 772.

936. *γερουσίαι*, see on 401 *supra*.

939. Odysseus and Diomedes were but tools in the hands of Athene: she and she alone was the true agent.

943. *φανᾶς ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς.* Orpheus revealed the torch-processions, i.e. ordained them. For *φανᾶι* cf. *Ion* 550.

945. Musaeus, here described as an Athenian citizen, was according to other legends a Thracian. He was regarded as a disciple of Orpheus. Verses attributed to him are quoted by Aristotle and other ancient writers.

946. See on 500 *supra*.

949. *ἐπάξομαι.* ‘I shall not call in any other poet,’ i.e. to sing the dirge; for *σοφιστής* poet v. 924 n. A Muse can perform that office for herself, cf. 976, *θρήνοις ἀδελφαὶ σ' ὑμνήσομεν*. This view of the passage was first suggested by Bothe. The connection of

thought with the preceding passage is rather loose. The Muse has been speaking of poets in another connection but the word *θρηνῶ* suggests the new idea. Vater, however, prefers to make *σοφιστής* mean ‘interpreter, prophet,’ in which sense it is applied to Melampus IIdt. II. 49. He compares Hector’s words in 952, and *H. F.* 911, where to the messenger’s *ἄλαστα τὰν δόμουσι* the chorus answers *μάντυν οὐχ ἔτερον ἀξομαι*.

950. **τροχηλάτης** Valckenaer. *στρατηλάτης* MSS., which is obviously wrong.

955. Hector breaks off his sentence at *λεύστων* with an emphatic question, ‘surely it was not to be supposed that I would not send heralds to my friends?’ *τι μὴν* is generally found only at end of a clause; hence some would prefer *τι δῆτ’* here.

960. For the Homeric practice of burning clothes in honour of the dead, cf. *Il.* xxii. 510, *ἀτάρ τοι εἴματ’ ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κέονται | ...ἀλλ’ ἡ τοι τάδε πάντα καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέῳ.*

962-973. This passage is discussed at length, *Intro.* § 1.

974. **ῥάον** (Valckenaer) is a great improvement on *βαιόν* with which it might readily have been confused. *Θεοῦ* depends on *πένθος*. The Muse would not admit that Thetis’ love for Achilles was tenderer than her own for Rhesus. Cf. *infra* 977.

976. Cf. (with Way) *Od.* xxiv. 58: Agamemnon in Hades tells the story of Achilles’ burial:

ἀμφὶ δέ σ’ ἔστησαν κοῦραι ἀλίοιο γέροντος
οἴκτρ’ ὀλοφυρόμεναι, περὶ δ’ ἄμβροτα εἴματα ἔσσαν,
Μοῦσαι δ’ ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπῃ καλῇ
θρήνεον.

977. *ἐν πένθει* with *Θέτιδος*, see 859 n.

980-3. For the sentiment, cf. *Med.* 1090 ff.

987. **πληροῦν τ’ αὐχένας**, ‘harness the necks of the steeds.’ I have not met any exact parallel to this phrase, the nearest approximations perhaps being such uses as *ναῦν πληροῦν*, *θωρακέα πληροῦν* (Aesch. *Sept.* 32).

988. **πανούς** for MSS. *πόνους* Reiske. **Τυρσηνικῆς** (for which cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 567, Soph. *Aj.* 17, Eur. *Phoen.* 1377) perhaps as indicating that it was first introduced by the Etruscan pirates. The true Tyrrhenian trumpet was curved at the end like the Roman *lituus* (see Jebb on *Aj.* 17).

989. **ὑπερβαλών** Lenting. The sense requires the aor. part.

APPENDIX

on vv. 874–8.

Hector has been attempting to soothe Rhesus' charioteer, who insists that Trojans (in particular, Hector himself), not Greeks, are responsible for the murder of his lord. The man repeats his suspicions, and the conversation ends thus:

EK. οὖτις αὐτὸν μῦθον οὐ λήξει λέγων.
HN. ὅλοιθ' ὁ δράσας. οὐ γὰρ εἰς σὲ τείνεται
γλῶσσ', ως σὺ κομπεῖς· ἡ Δίκη δ' ἐπίσταται.
EK. λάζυσθ'· ἄγοντες δ' αὐτὸν εἰς δόμους ἔμούς,
οὕτως ὥπως ἀν μὴ γκαλῆ πορσύνετε·
ὑμᾶς δ' ἴντας κτέ.

What does the charioteer mean by his *οὐ γὰρ εἰς σὲ τείνεται γλῶσσ'*, *ώς σὺ κομπεῖς*? ‘For my speech does not apply to you, as you boast’ (or ‘mockingly assert’—see below) ‘that it does’? This seems senseless, for: (i) the Thracian’s charges are directed at Hector, not merely as responsible leader, but personally (cp. his speech in *vv. 833–855 passim* and *vv. 872 sq.*); (ii) why should Hector ‘brag’ because the accusation is made? The vagueness of reference in the preceding words, *ὅλοιθ' ὁ δράσας*, cannot in itself be regarded as a recantation¹ and so as an answer to the first difficulty; *ὅστις ἦν* or something of the kind should have been added. And the second question is left.

The explanation, I think, lies in *γλῶσσ'* and *κομπεῖς*. The unusual pause after the first syllable of the line lays marked and unexpected emphasis on *γλῶσσ'*. *κομπεῖς* is not ‘thou dost boast,’

¹ Professor Gilbert Murray’s version (in his delightful translation of the *Rhesus*, 1913):—

My curse rest—not on Hector, but on those
Who stabbed us, as thou say’st.—Ah, Justice knows!—
is assuredly not a close rendering,

but ‘thou dost disdainfully assert.’ *κομπεῖν*, in reference not to one’s own merits but to another’s failings, is found in *v.* 438: *οὐχ ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμύστιδας*. Cp. also *Orestes* 571, Aesch. *P. V.* 947. The charioteer means, then: ‘Let¹ the slayer perish! For ‘tis no *tongue*, as thy taunts aver, that points at thee.’² Here he draws his *sword* and rushes upon Hector with the cry: ‘Justice knows...’ He would have said: ‘Justice knows how to equalize the obscure Thracian and the mighty Trojan’—but he is checked in his outcry and his onset alike, perhaps by the henchmen of the prince, perhaps by sudden weakness due to his wound. *λάζυσθε* is familiar in the sense ‘Arrest that man!’³ But it may be simply ‘Take in your arms.’⁴ In either case the situation is an excellent, if obvious, stroke of stage-craft; but the latter view is the more striking. The mountaineer in the moment of his impetuous charge is arrested by his own weakness, and collapses into the arms of the Trojans and possibly of Hector himself.

G. NORWOOD.

¹ It may be objected that *ὅλοιτο* regularly means, not a direct threat, but a somewhat vague denunciation—‘curses upon him!’ Certainly; and *οἱ δράσας*—particularly if it does in fact mean Hector—is very vague. I believe that the Thracian, as he gathers himself together for his spring, intentionally uses language which for the instant will half disguise and half express his intention.

² Cp. *Macbeth* v. viii:

I have no words,—
My voice is in my sword, thou bloodier villain
Than terms can give thee out.

³ Cf. *Ion* 1266, 1402; *Phoenissae* 1660; *Bacchae* 503 and possibly 451.

⁴ Cp. *Medea* 956; *Heracles* 943; *Iph. Aul.* 622.

INDICES

(MAINLY TO THE NOTES)

I. GREEK

[Words marked † are given by Rolfe as not occurring elsewhere in the Tragic Poets, although found in other Greek writers. They are to be distinguished from ἄπαξ εἰρημένα, words occurring nowhere outside the *Rhesus*. A list of these latter will be found, *Intro.* p. xlvi.]

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